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OCTOBER 1885 - JULY 1886

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HEBRAICA

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL IN THE INTERESTS OF HEBREW STUDY

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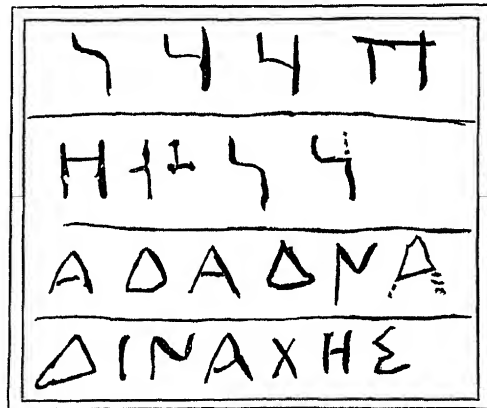
A SOUTH-BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC-GREEK BILINGUAL.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EBERHARD SCHRADER,

Berlin, Germany.

On page 256 of his work—*Les vrais Arabes et leur pays* (*Bagdad et les villes ignorées de l'Euphrate*), Paris : 1884—Monsieur Denis de Rivoyre gives, in connection with a non-Semitic (line 5 : m u - n a - r ū indicates without doubt its character) cuneiform inscription engraved in the old Babylonian characters, but very indistinct, also an inscription in Aramaic and Greek characters, to which I beg leave to invite attention.

This inscription, consisting of four lines, was found by him in one of the temple-walls of Tello, the site of Old-Babylonian ruins well known through the excavations of Monsieur de Sarzec. It is engraved on a brick (burnt-brick), which was found built into the wall and is not the only one of this kind.



The Greek inscription is clear at first glance, and is to be read ΑΑΑΔΝΑΔΙΝ-ΑΧΗΣ, i. e., 'Αδαδναδινάχης, and finally, by the addition of the ending ης, the Grecian

gnesio-Babylonian name: A d a d-n â d i n-a ḥ, i. e., "(God) Hadad gives a brother." The ends of both sides of the A in the third line, in the group N A A I N, which are not clearly indicated in the original, I have myself completed. The name in question is formed according to the analogy of others, as e. g. N a b ū-n â d i n-a ḥ, etc.

That the other is an *Aramaic* inscription can also be seen at once. With the exception that the first letter to the right in the second line, apparently *Nun*, is to be completed as an Aramaic *Daleth*, this name is also very clear, and is to be read: **הדרננאח**, i. e. H d d n d n ' ḥ = H a d a d n â d i n a ḥ.

The two inscriptions correspond exactly, and contain *one* and the *same* proper name. It is customarily the rule in the rendering of Aramaic, e. g., Palmyrenean, names into Greek, that the Greek ending *ης* corresponds to the emphatic **א**, e. g., **שלמא** = *Σαλμης* (and again *βουλευτής* = **בילוטא**); in this case an **א** is not expressed. We meet, however, with **ורר** = *Ὀυροῶδης*, so that no real objection can be offered in this case.

The foregoing Aramaic characters, in many respects, resemble the Egyptian-Aramaic characters of the third to first century B. C. This corresponds satisfactorily to the age which one would naturally conjecture. As the brick was built into the wall—and a temple-wall at that—one would expect to find, in the bearer of this name, a public person, a monarch perhaps, who (under the supremacy of a mightier ruler(?)) had command of a particular regiment, drafted in some way or other.

The name itself is of especial interest as, on the one hand, it is purely Babylonian in its structure, and, on the other hand, it contains the name of a god, which is certainly not a gnesio-Babylonian, but rather a purely Aramaic name. It, as well as its character, was long known to the Assyrians. Already Ašurbanipal knew of a Syrian prince, Bir-dadda, i. e. **בר-הדר** *Bar-hadad*, and, in a variant, represents the god as A N. I M. i. e., as "god of the atmosphere," especially of the heaven. (Of. the author's *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, (1878) pp. 538, 539). In the time of the *Assyrians*, however, we do not know (at least at present) of any purely Assyrian proper name into which the name of this foreign god enters. Not till later does the cultus of this Syrian god appear to have become so thoroughly settled among the *Babylonians*, that they did not hesitate to compound new formed Babylonian names with the same.

Berlin, May 4th, 1885.

P. S.—Professor *Euting*, of Strassburg, writes me that he judges the Aramaic characters of the inscription "to correspond to those of the beginning of the third, perhaps even of the end of the fourth century B. C. (310–250 B. C.)."

Berlin, May 8th, 1885.

P O S T S C R I P T.

On the 30th of May, Professor *Euting* wrote me from Strassburg that in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles lettres*, Paris, 1884, p. 201 (Proceedings of June 13, '84)—I myself have not as yet seen these proceedings—he read the following report :

“M. de Vogüé fait une communication sur des briques qui ont été trouvées à Tello, en Chaldée, par M. de Sarzec. Ces briques sont marquées d'une estampille uniforme qui donne, en caractères araméens, puis en caractères grecs du second ou du premier siècle avant notre ère, un même nom propre sémitique : *H a d a d n a - d i n a k h i*. C'est probablement le nom d'un roi de la basse Chaldée.”

According to this, the priority of reading this Aramaic name belongs to M. de Vogüé. I have only the following remarks : (1) in the copy of the estampille which I have there is no trace of an Aramaic Jod, to which de Vogüé's —*kh*i refers, and (2) the name is not “d'origine sémitique,” but rather specifically Assyrian-Babylonish in its structure.

Berlin, June 1st, 1885.

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF MŪTNĪNŪ.

BY PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

Baltimore, Md.

A very common epithet of the Assyrian kings is mut(d,t)-nin-nu-u or mu-ut(d,t)-ni-en-nu-u. Cf., e. g., V R. 7, 94 and 95: âti (Hebr. אֲתִי) Ašûr-bân-abla šangû¹ ellu, re'u mu-ut-nin-nu-u me, *Sardanapalus, the pure priest king, the mutninnû chief*. George Smith generally translated this adjective by "powerful," connecting it perhaps with dannu *mighty*. A derivation from danânu, however, is impossible.

Henri Pognon, in the glossary of his valuable book *L'inscription de Bavian*, Paris, 1879, explains mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u² as the participle of ut-nin "adresser une prière, être dévot." Ut-nin, he thinks, is the Aphel of a stem תִּנַּן, תִּנַּן or טִנַּן; he says, "j'ignore si la première radicale est un ט, un ט, ou un ת." This opinion is also untenable. As I have established in my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 58, n. 8, there is no Aphel in Assyrian at all. The Pael and Shaphel serve as causative conjugations.

In the inaugural dissertation of my pupil, Dr. Johannes Flemming, *Die grosse Steinplatten-Inschrift Nebukadnezar's II.* (Göttingen, 1883), utnen is rightly combined with the Hebrew לְהִתְחַנֵּן *to seek favor, to supplicate*. Dr. Flemming considers utnen the Imperfect Ifta'al of חָנַן: "uḥtannin," he says, "became uttannin, uttânin, ûtânin, ûtênin, and then with (an irregular) syncope of the ê in the second syllable, and change of the i in the third to ê (as a sort of compensation), ûtnên. The same syncope of ê occurs in the well known ušziz (for ušeziz) *I placed*."³

The weak point in this analysis is the assumption of the syncope of an accented long vowel. Syncope takes place in Assyrian only in the case of an unaccented short vowel after a double consonant or a long or accented vowel; e. g., martu *gall* (const. *marrat) = marratu (Hebr. מַרְרָתִי, Job xvi, 13;

¹ Lugal before sangu azag is determinative.

² Mu-ut-ni-en-nu-u can be read in Assyrian מֻטְנִינֻ, מֻטְנִינֻ, מֻטְנִינֻ or מֻטְנִינֻ, מֻטְנִינֻ, מֻטְנִינֻ, etc. For the confusion of e and i see my SFG. 68. The graphic doubling of a consonant in Assyrian very often indicates only the length of the preceding vowel. Cf. SFG. 68, n. 1, and Prætorius, *Literaturblatt fuer orientalische Philologie*, vol. I., p. 200.

³ Flemming, l. c., p. 81. [Cf. now also Heinrich Zimmern, *Babylonsche Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 77. Dr. Zimmern considers utnen an apocopated Iftana'al form of עָנָה. Ut-nen, he says, is = utnenâ, ûtênênâ = ûtanênâ = ûtanânâ = u'tananna!—Aug. 12th, 1885.]

מִמְרָתוֹ Job xx., 25; Arab. مِرَّة mirre, Aram. מִרְרָא and מִרְרָא fem. of marru *bitter*; dimtu *tear* = dimmatu, dim'atu¹ (Hebr. דִּמְעָה, Aram. דִּמְעָא, Arab. دَمْعَة dam'e); šartu² *evil*, fem. of šarru (Arab. شَرّ); tâmtu or tâmdu *see*; nûbtu *bee* (Arab. نُبّ nûb, Ethiopic nehb)³; rûqu (= raḥûqu, Hebr. רָחוֹק), fem. rûqtu *remote*; mârû *child*, fem. mârta (constr. mârat) *daughter*; šîru (= šahîru, Arab. ظَهْر prominent, fem. šîrtu (constr. šîrat); nîḥu (= nawîḥu) *quiet*, fem. nîḥtu; dîku (= dawîku) *killed*, fem. dîktu; šîmu *price*, fem. šîmtu (constr. šîmat) *fate*; belu *lord*, fem. beltu (construct state belit⁴ for belat) *lady*; rešu *chief, prince*, fem. reštu *princess*; nešu *lion*, fem. neštu⁵ *lioness*; ûblûni *they brought* = ûbilûni, yaubilûni; ûrdûni *they descended* = ûridûni; iptâlîḥû *they feared* = yaptâlîḥû; iptahrû *they gathered* = yaptâḥîrû; ittaklu⁶ *he trusted* = yantakilu; mugdâšru *strong* = mugdâšîru, mugtâšîru⁷ (גִּשְׁר), etc., etc.

But the syncope of a long accented vowel is impossible. Not even in the case of ušeziz has this happened. Ušziz is based on the analogy of the ע"ו stems, and would, therefore, be more accurately written ušzîz or (with the change of the ש before ז to ל) ulzîz, a form like ušîb, the Shaphel of the Piel from ṭâbu (Impf. iṭîbu) *to be good*.⁸ Cf. ušmallî *I filled* (מָלֵא); ušrabbî *I enlarged* (רָבִי); ušraddî (רָדֵא) *I added*, etc. Ušeziz, on the other hand, is a

¹ For the retrogressive assimilation of the y cf. the name of David's brother, שִׁמְכָה, 1 Sam. xvi., 9; xvii., 18, which, as appears from 2 Sam. xiii., 3 and 32, is = שִׁמְכָה. Cf. also SFG. 10, 1. Dimtu *tear* could be derived also from the well-known Assyrian stem ܕܡܚܐ to weep, Imperfect idmum. [Cf. for this verb Zimmermann, BP. 30.—Aug. 12th, 1885.]

² Cf. šurrâti in dabâb šurrâti.

³ Cf. HEBRAICA, Vol. I., p. 178, n. 4.

⁴ The t in belit is due to the influence of the e; cf. rebitu *broad way* = rebatu, رَحْبَة, eklitu *darkness* = eklatu, حَكْلَة; shelibu *fox* = shelabu, ثَعْلَب (SFG. 16, 6); errîtu *curse* = erratu, arratu; ezzîtu (= ezzatu) fem. of ezzu *mighty*; ellîtu = ellatu, fem. ellu *light, pure*; eršîtu (with y) *earth* = eršatu, aršatu; eql = eqal, حَقْل, constr. state of eqlu *field*, Aram. חֲקֵל, Arabic حَقْل, Hebr., with transposition, חֶלֶק, 2 Kgs. ix., 10, 36, 37; epr *dust* = epar, 'apar, constr. of epru = 'apru *dust*, Hebr. עָפָר.

⁵ Cf. Ethiopic forms, like her, fem. hert *good*, etc.

⁶ Ittakil *he trusted* is not the form اِتَّكَل of وكل (Schrader, KAT. 530), but, as appears from I R. 35, No. 2, l. 12, the form اِنْفَعَلَ of تَكَل, which seems to be = Ethiopic takâla *trust, stability*. Natkil, l. c., can only be Imperative Niphal, like naplis *look*, etc. Cf. also Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 144.

⁷ Cf. Arabic اجتمع for اجمع, Lotz, *Tiglathpileser*, p. 169. See also Haupt, *Nimrod-epos*, 12, 39: kî rîmi ugdaššaru elî niše *like a wild bull, he is stronger than (all) men*.

⁸ [Cf. my article in Dr. Bezold's ZK. II., 3, p. 272.—Aug. 12th, 1885.]

SOME PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK.

BY ISAAC H. HALL, PH. D.

Metropolitan Museum, New York City.

The intention of this paper is merely to publish the text, with as little comment as possible, of those Phœnician Inscriptions of the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which occur on vases, alabastra and jars. They do not appear in the first two fascicles of Renan's *Corpus*, where are figured most of the Cesnola Phœnician Inscriptions. Not all the figures and renderings in the *Corpus*, however, are correct; and I may present the others in a future article. I give the numbers which the objects now bear in the Museum, together with references to former publications. "*Ward*" refers to the article or note of Rev. Dr. W. Hayes Ward in *Proceedings of American Oriental Society* at Boston, May, 1874, where six inscriptions are figured, including three of those here given. "*Cesnola*" refers to di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, London and New York, 1878; the numbers here given being those of the representations on his plates.

I may state here that, in my former rendering of the longest Phœnician inscription, published in *HEBRAICA*, vol. I., p. 25, I desire to correct the rendering "my (or his) Lord's servant" to the proper name "'Abdelim," with the bracketed addition "[son of]." The other differences from Renan must stand.

The following are the inscriptions:

XXI. (*Ward*, 6; *Cesnola*, 9.) On terra-cotta vase from tomb at Idaliium. Letters painted before baking, clear, but baffling all former efforts to read. I read

רגמן

and render it either as a proper name, "Regman," or "Regmon," or as the inscription "My Friend" or "Our Friend."

XXII. (*Cesnola*, 25.) Incised on an alabastron about a foot high, and from four to five inches in diameter, with a cover like a small modern butter-plate. Found in a tomb at Citium.

כלשי 111

The numeral is 100. The word is not extant in Phœnician, so far as I know, except upon another Cesnola object (see No. XXVIII. below), and its meaning I conjecture, from Syriac and Arabic analogy, as "My (or, his) ashes," or "My (or, his) urn."

XXIII. (*Cesnola*, 26.) Incised on a red terra-cotta vase, from a tomb at Citium.

לאנתש

"To Anthos," or "[The property] of Anthos." This Greek word was naturalized in Syriac, in different forms. This inscription was published in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeology* as "To (or, of) Antosh."

XXIV. (*Cesnola*, 27.) On the foot of an antique vase of serpentine, purchased in the bazar at Nicosia. The last character may be ח instead of י, but I think not.

ח ח י

If not a proper name, it is probably an epithet, or term of endearment. I conjecture "My thorn-bush," or perhaps "My chain."

XXV. (*Ward*, 5; *Cesnola*, 8.) A jar (πίθος) of red earthenware, from a tomb at Palæo-Paphos. Letters painted before baking. The fourth character in the first line is uncertain.

ב ע ל פ ל ם

י ת ן

ש מ ע י

"Ba'al-Peles (Lord of weight (?)) gave. He heard me (or, him)."

XXVI. (*Ward*, 4; *Cesnola*, 7.) On a jar of red pottery, like the last, from a tomb at Citium. Letters painted before baking.

ב ע ל י

"Ba'ali." Perhaps a form of the deity's name, or else the name with the pronominal suffix of the first or third person.

XXVII. (*Cesnola*, 29.) In all respects like the last two. From a tomb at Citium.

ב ע ל י ז ת

Very doubtful, as the fourth character may be ז instead of י, which would change the whole meaning. As it is here given, it may mean "My (or, his) Lord of the olive."

With regard to the last three inscriptions, I am not blind to the other meanings that suggest themselves; but I find nothing to decide the question. One fragment of a similar πίθος had a long inscription of about thirty letters, painted around the sloping top, of which nothing is now decipherable but the word בעל. If that inscription were legible, it might furnish a clue to these legible shorter ones. They may only refer to a merchant, or superintendent, instead of a divinity; a supposition which has its base in the fact that they are on common πίθοι, which were doubtless put into the tomb with provisions for the departed. It is reasonable to expect that more of these jars will be found by excavators in Cyprus.

XXVIII. (*Schröder*, 22 (?), in *Monatsbericht der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, May, 1870, pp. 264-272.) On a πίθος like the last four, except that it has ears, or handles. From a tomb at Citium.

ב ל ש

See No. XXII., above.

THE USE OF עֵבֶר AND ITS COMPOUNDS IN THE HEXATEUCH.

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More than two centuries ago a French critic of the Old Testament alleged that, among other things, the peculiar use of עֵבֶר in the Pentateuch (Deut. i., 1) showed that Moses could not have been its author. It indicated rather as author some one already settled in Canaan. This statement of Peyrère¹ was taken up by others and has come to have the force of a stock argument on that side of the question.² We are fully justified, therefore, in making a brief inquiry into the actual use of עֵבֶר, with its compounds (ב, מ, ל), as found in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, usually associated with it by critics.

As its verbal root would suggest, the noun עֵבֶר may mean (1) *what is beyond, the other side of* something; or (2) *what is over against, opposite*. In the former case a limit of some sort is not only implied, but made prominent; in the latter, the relative position of two things as being simply opposite to one another is the thing emphasized. Moreover, in the former instance, the limit, be it a river or whatever it may, may be in the mind to such an extent that it will itself serve as the point of view of the writer or speaker rather than the one or the other side of it, and so, in perfect harmony with the etymology of the word, עֵבֶר be employed to mark *the transit* itself across the limit, whether in one direction or the other. A third and more derived meaning of the noun עֵבֶר is *shore, border*, that is, of a river, like the Latin *ora, ripa*. It is found not infrequently in this sense in the Bible.

We see, accordingly, that עֵבֶר is a very flexible word and, by itself, an exceedingly vague one. It is simply an auxiliary in conveying thought, and needs to have something added to it in order to carry a clear sense to the mind. And we shall be struck by nothing more forcibly, I think, in our examination of its use in the Hexateuch, than by the fact that the writer, as if conscious of the peculiar vagueness of the word, takes especial pains to show how to use it.

In Genesis the expression is twice found (בְּעֵבֶר, L., 10, 11) and both times in the same sense. Of the funeral train that Joseph led up from Egypt to Canaan for the burial of his father it is said, that it halted at the "threshing-floor of Atad which is בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן." Undoubtedly the writer meant to fix the exact spot beyond a peradventure, and for his contemporaries he did so. But we are less fortunate, as we do not know anything about this "threshing-

¹ *Systema Theologicum ex Præadamitarum Hypothesi* (1655), p. 185 f.

² Cf. Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture* (N. Y. 1883). I. p. 510.

floor of Atad." Still, the context, which speaks of the "Canaanites" as seeing and remarking upon what took place there, makes it tolerably certain that it was on the west side of the Jordan (cf. Num. xxxv., 14, Josh. xxii., 11).¹ In this case there would be nothing against, but much in favor of, the supposition that the writer was on the east side. To assume, as some do, that the writer's point of view is and must be the west side, is not only to assume what there is no justification for in the text, but involves one in very serious difficulties with it, besides being an assumption of the very point in debate. If בעבר does not mean *across, on the opposite side*, in this instance, it must have the third of the meanings given above, *on the shore* (of the Jordan), and so could not be used by itself for determining the point of view of the writer.

In Exodus עבר is used three times (xxv., 37; xxviii., 26; xxxix., 19) and the plural construct of it once (xxxii., 15), but everywhere exclusively in the sense *what is over against, opposite*, as of the lights on the two arms of the golden candlestick, the rings on the corresponding borders of the highpriest's breastplate and the laws on the two tables of stone. These passages, therefore, are of no special use to us in our present inquiry. In Leviticus the expression does not occur.

In Numbers it is found only in the form מעבר (xxi., 13; xxii., 1; xxxii., 19 (twice), 32; xxxiv., 15; xxxv., 14) the prefix having the force of marking more definitely the boundary concerning which עבר is predicated. In the first instance the Arnon is that boundary; in all the others it is the Jordan. In every instance the context makes clear which side of the respective rivers is meant, but in such a way as not to fix with certainty the point of view of the writer. That מעבר is *not* used by him in the technical sense the word subsequently acquired in its Greek form (τὸ πέραν) and had in the time of our Lord (τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου), as meaning the district east of the Jordan, is clear, from the fact that he employs it as well of the west as of the east side in the very same verse (xxxii., 19) and *never* uses it of the east side without making it plain from the context, just as in other instances, that he does so. He never assumes, in other words, an acquaintance on the part of his readers with any such supposed settled or technical sense. As it concerns the writer's own point of view, as far as he gives us any hint of it, it is neither the east nor the west side of the Jordan (excepting xxi., 13, where the Arnon is mentioned), but the river itself. And in the use of the very same term (מעבר) he finds himself free to turn one way or the other, to say, "across the Jordan eastward," or, "across the Jordan westward," as circumstances may require.

And the same thing is conspicuously true of the Book of Deuteronomy. We find here עבר (iv., 49), בעבר (i., 1; iii., 8, 20, 25; iv., 41, 46, 47; xi., 30)

¹ Dillmann, *Com.*, *in loco*, declares that הכנעני cannot be used of the people east of the Jordan.

and **מַעְבֵּר** (xxx., 13), all employed in the same general sense of what is beyond or near a border, and, as in the Book of Numbers, in every case but one that border is the Jordan (xxx., 13). As in Numbers, the expression (**בַּעְבֵּר** here, **מַעְבֵּר** there) emphasizes the border itself rather than one or the other side of it, and in the same context is used indifferently for the east or the west side (iii., 20, 25). And when it is used for the east side, it is accompanied, in each instance, by some description that determines the fact, just as when it means the west side. If the writer were really on the east side of the Jordan, as the contents of the Book of Deuteronomy would naturally lead us to suppose, then it is clear that **בַּעְבֵּר** (like **מַעְבֵּר**) meant for him no more than the Jordan limit, with its shores stretching away on either side. If he was actually on the west side of it, and was trying to create an impression that he was not, but on the opposite side, he has certainly taken a very clumsy way of doing it. As far as the expression he employs is concerned, he effectually effaces not only every sign that he is there, but that he is on either side. He leaves himself floating in the air over the fording-place of the Jordan.

But it might be asked, if the writer was not in fact already in Canaan, would he *so uniformly* in Numbers and Deuteronomy have used **מַעְבֵּר** and **בַּעְבֵּר** of the east side? For an answer to this question let us turn to the Book of Joshua. Here the point of view is changed, at least is assumed to be changed. The people have crossed the Jordan, and occupied the promised land. Two and a half tribes have returned, or will eventually return, to the east side of the river to take possession of the land assigned them there. If the expression we are considering had for Israel during this period any such sense as has been claimed for it, it would certainly have it in this book, and be seen to have it. The words **מַעְבֵּר** and **בַּעְבֵּר**, that is, like the tribes inheriting east of the Jordan, would now come into their rightful possessions also, and be no longer used for mere purposes of mystification.

What is the fact? In the Book of Joshua, too, we find all three forms of the word employed: **עֵבֶר** (xiii., 27),¹ **בַּעְבֵּר** (i., 14, 15; ii., 10; v., 1; vii., 7; ix., 1, 10; xii., 1, 7; xiii., 8; xxii., 4; xxiv., 8), **מַעְבֵּר** (xiii., 32; xiv., 3; xvii., 5; xviii., 7; xx., 8; xxii., 7). It is still understood to have the same kind of vagueness attaching to it as in the other books, and is never left undefined. It is still used likewise of *both sides of the river*, and, what is still more remarkable, it is used here a great deal oftener than in any other book of the *west side*, where people and writer are now assumed to be, and notwithstanding the fact that they are assumed to be there (v., 1; ix., 1; xii., 7; xxii., 7).

To the question, then, Does the comparatively uniform—though not exclusive—use of **בַּעְבֵּר** and **מַעְבֵּר** in Numbers and Deuteronomy for the region

¹ In xxii., 11, it seems to mean "ford" and xxiv., 2, 3, 14, 15 it does not refer to the Jordan.

east of the Jordan tend to show that the assumed point of view of the history and historian, as themselves on the same side, is false?—there can be but one answer. Most assuredly it does not. We find the same usage, indeed, when history and historian are actually transferred to Canaan, but we find it with considerably less uniformity. In other words, where we might expect, were this theory true, an exclusive appropriation and application of the word in one sense, we find it used in that sense even less commonly than before. Whether Moses, therefore, was the responsible author of the Pentateuch or not, no reason to the contrary can fairly be derived from the use of עֵבֶר in it. It is everywhere employed most intelligently and with perfect frankness and consistency.

THE MASSORA AMONG THE SYRIANS.*

Freely translated and adapted from the French of the Abbe J. P. P. MARTIN

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I. When the immortal J. S. Assémani was writing, in the last century, his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, (three parts in four volumes, folio, Rome, 1719-1728), on reaching the chapter which he devoted to Bar-Hebraeus, and coming to describe the great commentary which that author composed on the Holy Scriptures under the title of "*Treasury of Mysteries*,"—the learned Maronite let the following lines fall from his pen: "Versiones denique et auctores quibus in hoc libro utitur, hi sunt. In primis Hebraicus textus, et graeca versio Septuaginta interpretum, passim. . . . Praeterea duae aliae Syriacae, praeter simplicem cui poene inhoeret, versiones identidem cituntur, nimirum Heraclensis et كركافيه Karkaphensis, hoc est montana, qua videlicet incolae montium utuntur."¹

These words of Assemani gave the hint to the scholars of Europe, who set themselves to searching for the new version that Assemani had pointed out on the authority of Bar-Hebraeus. Though they turned out in force, and ransacked all the mountains of Europe and Asia, and searched every crack and cranny, this "mountain version" remained undiscoverable. It was to reappear at the moment when it was least expected.

The scholars were not willing, nevertheless, to refuse themselves the pleasure of putting forth conjectures. J. David Michaelis took it for the version which the Nestorians used. G. Christian Adler, who undertook his journey to Rome largely in the hope of discovering it, did not meet with it. And yet, he had it under his eyes, perhaps even in his hands, in two libraries,—the Vatican and the Barberini.

* [The Abbé Martin printed an essay on this subject in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, 6th Series, vol. XIV. Afterwards he issued his book: *La Massore chez les Syriens*, etc., Paris, 1870. The essay which we here translate, presents the matter more succinctly; it is chapter III., Art. II., § VI., pp. 276-296 of the Abbé's recent work: *Introduction a la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1882. Although the doctrines set forth in it are now somewhat generally accepted by Syriac scholars, they are little known outside of a comparatively narrow circle. And, as the book from which this section is taken is necessarily a rare one, it is thought that a service will be rendered to American students of Semitic subjects by presenting it to them in an English dress. The translation itself is very free in form and the adaptation includes some considerable omissions. The translator hopes, however, that he has in no case either misrepresented the learned author, or failed to convey his meaning with clearness. He is not, of course, responsible for the correctness of the facts or the validity of the logic; but only for the just transference of the Abbé's meaning.]

¹ J. S. Assemani, op. cit. vol. II., p. 283.

At the end of his efforts and researches, he thought he could affirm provisionally that the Karkaphensian version was only a manuscript of the Peshito: "Imo haec Carcafensis," he says, "nobis non versio diversa sed codex quidam insignis Vulgata Syriaca versionis fuisse videtur. Quod vel ex iis varietatibus patet quae a Gregorio laudantur."¹

II. The failure of G. Ch. Adler did not discourage scholars. They still continued to seek the Karkaphensian version, and some are perhaps at this hour still seeking it. They have not found it, for the very simple reason that it does not exist. We can give assurance of this. The Karkaphensian version positively has been discovered. Cardinal Wiseman had the good fortune to put his hand on two MSS. that belong to what has been called the Karkaphensian version. J. S. Assemani had had one of them in his hands; he had even described it in two places in his writings: (1) in the second volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, pp. 499, 500; (2) in his *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum MSS. Catalogus*, vol. III., p. 287; and although the title ought to have attracted his attention, he did not notice that he had in his hands that "Karkaphensian Tradition" of the existence of which Bar-Hebraeus had apprised him.

Nicholas Wiseman, in his *Horae Syriacae*, pp. 149 sq., described the two Roman MSS.; but he did not perhaps throw into sufficient relief the singular and characteristic features of the work which they contained. All the manuscripts of this class bear a title like the following: "Volume of the words and readings of the Old and New Testaments [according to the Karkaphensian tradition]." The words in brackets are wanting in some of the manuscripts.²

III. Now what is this work, thus brought to our knowledge under the name of "Karkaphensian tradition," or some similar name?

It is easy to answer. It is a Massoretic work. The word which we have translated "tradition" is the Syriac equivalent of the Hebrew word *Massora*. The Syrians had a Massora analogous to that of the Jews, contemporary with that of the Jews, and, moreover, like that of the Jews, divided into two currents, the cradle of one of which was the East, in Babylonia, while the other was born and grew up in the West, in Palestine and Syria. We have, in a word, documents which represent two literary traditions or currents. And as the Aramaic is closely like the Hebrew, it goes without saying that the Syriac Massora is, on the whole, much like the Massora of the Jews. It is astonishing that so patent a fact should have so long escaped those who had the Karkaphensian manuscripts in their hands. A simple statement of the contents of these volumes ought, by itself, to have shown them that they had before them, not a new version of the Bible, but (1) a lexicographical and grammatical work; (2) an exegetical work. In drawing up these volumes, which contain sometimes more than 300 leaves, the

¹ *Versiones Syriacae*, p. 83.

² See below. Cf. P. Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*. Paris, 1870.

intention was, not to give a new text, but to furnish the means of conserving and using the old texts. The impulse that led the Latin critics of the thirteenth century to draw up *correctoria*, led the Syrian critics of the ninth to the thirteenth centuries to make this compilation, which ought to take its place in history hereafter under the name of **ܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ**,—words hard to translate, but the sense of which is easy to recognize in the phrase, “Collection of Biblical words, punctuated and provided with their accents.”

IV. The form of this text may be understood from a view of any page of one of the MSS. which embody it. Take, for instance, manuscript 62 of the Paris National Library, and open at the page that contains the last portion of Mark's Gospel. From Mark XIV., 72, with which the page begins, to the end of the Gospel, no single verse is given entire. Of the 68 verses contained within these limits, there are given fragments of only 20; and these fragments most frequently consist of only a few words.

No doubt there are places where the verses are less mutilated than in this passage. This is true, for example, of the beginning of these Syrian *correctoria*. One or even two consecutive verses may be found cited entire in Genesis or Exodus; we are not absolutely sure that they are, for we have never verified the fact. In proportion as we advance, however, into the Old and into the New Testaments, the extracts become shorter and more disconnected. The reason for this fact is easy to discover: the object which the Syrian Massorites set before themselves being to guide in the syllabication and rhythmical reading of the text, they did not repeat the words every time they occurred, but, after giving them a few times, assumed that they would be well known to their readers. This is why, in the analyses they make of this same passage of Mark, according to the Philoxeno-Heraclensian version, they do not give more than some fifteen words.

“Brother,” says the copyist of one of these collections of which we are speaking, to his readers, “do not trouble yourself too quickly, if in glancing through the ‘ch'mohe and q'roiotho’ (punctuated and accented words), collected here with the greatest care, you do not find in certain parts of the later books the ‘ch'mohe and q'roiotho’ that you are seeking. They have been already written before, in the first or last portion of each book. The more difficult ones have been given once, or twice, or even oftener. Take, therefore, the book, read it through, commencing each book at its beginning; continue your reading without fear, and you will discover that I tell the truth. If there are two similar expressions, and you find one of them and not the other, know that they are pronounced alike. I have done as I have said.”¹

To read such a note as this is enough to inform us what kind of a work we have in hand. The Massoretic text is not continuous and it is not the same in all

¹ Additional Manuscript 7183, f. 122.

MSS. From this we may learn the nature of the text contained in the Massoretic MSS. It follows that if a passage is not cited in them, we are by no means justified in concluding that this passage was not authentic in the eyes of the Syrian Massorites, because it is their habit sometimes to pass over several successive verses without drawing a single word from them.

V. It is important to observe, moreover, that all the MSS. do not contain the same passages, or the same words in the same passages. We have verified the fact in a number of passages, and have elsewhere given Matthew I., 18—II., 4a, as it is extracted in four MSS.¹ A single glance at the differences there manifest to all will make the conclusions, which such a comparison demands, very plain. Each MS., or nearly every one, is the work of an author or of a school: of one of those scholars who, from the seventh to the eighth centuries devoted their efforts and lives to the clearing up of all the difficulties of the Scriptures, or of one of those societies of “maq‘r‘yâne,” the mission of which was to conserve the good traditions of reading and pronunciation. This is in harmony with the language which we have quoted from the copyist of the Additional MS. 7188.

VI. We ought not, therefore, to seek for a version in these books, but something very different. This is so true, that not only is the Peshito analyzed in them, but also the Philoxeno-Heraclensian version. Yet, it is worth noticing, that the “ch‘mohe and q‘roïotho” of the latter figure only in the Massoretic collections of the Jacobite Syrians, while the Nestorian collections (MS. Add. 12188) contain only the analysis of the Peshito.

VII. Among the numerous remarks that might be made with reference to these volumes, we content ourselves with the four following:—(1) The New Testament is divided thus:—*a.* Acts and Catholic Epistles; *b.* Epistles of Paul; *c.* Gospels, in the usual order. This division is adopted in the analysis of both the Peshito and Philoxeno-Heraclensian. (2) The version of Thomas of Harkel contained, therefore, the Acts and Epistles. (3) In the Peshito only three catholic Epistles are analyzed. The fact is less clear in the Philoxeno-Heraclensian, because the Catholic Epistles are analyzed together, and a long search is necessary to find to which Epistle the words cited belong. (4) There are no “ch‘mohe” of the Apocalypse given in either case. It would seem, then, that neither the Nestorians nor the Jacobites accepted the Apocalypse in the ninth and tenth centuries as authentic or canonical.

VIII. In the Massoretic collections of the Jacobite Syrians, in the same fashion as the Bible, only somewhat more briefly, the works of the Greek Fathers translated into Syriac have been analyzed,—especially those the translation of which was due to James of Edessa, to-wit:—(1) the works attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite—three treatises and the letters; (2) the works of St. Basil—twenty-nine homilies; (3) of St. Gregory the Theologian, bishop of Nazi-

¹ *La Massoré chez les Syriens. Pièces Justificatives. Tableau III.*

anza—forty-seven homilies in two parts; (4) the letters of St. Basil and St. Gregory the Theologian; (5) the *λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι* of Severus of Antioch—125 homilies divided into three parts, as in the version of them made by James of Edessa about 700–701, A. D.¹

IX. To these analyses, made from the point of view of the pronunciation and punctuation, the following documents are adjoined: (1) the letter of James of Edessa to George of Sarug and to the “scribes who read this book;” (2) a treatise by James of Edessa on punctuation and accentuation; (3) a treatise, apparently by a deacon named Thomas; (4) the names of the Greek points according to St. Epiphanius; (5) divers other little grammatical treatises; (6) enumeration of the *στίχοι* and *ῥήματα* contained in the Holy Scriptures. For the Old Testament, the *στίχοι* are enumerated for the whole and also book by book; but for the New Testament they are enumerated simply for the whole. Moreover, it does not appear that the Nestorian Massora contains this enumeration. (7) Lastly, at the end of all these documents, come very short lives of the prophets, apostles, and disciples, largely taken from St. Epiphanius, and perhaps also from Eusebius.² Sometimes, also, the last leaves of these *collectanea* contain treatises on *vocibus aequivocis*, or tables of words written alike in their consonants, but pronounced differently.

This, then, is the contents of these voluminous collections, subject to variations of the codices. MS. 62 (formerly 142) of the National Library of Paris has furnished the description above.

X. It is astonishing, we repeat, that such an assemblage of documents has not long ago caused the true nature of the work contained in the Karkaphensian or other *ܕܡܨܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܐ* to be recognized. The grouping together of so disparate a collection of pieces ought to have opened the eyes of the blind. Yet neither Andrew Scandar nor Assemani understood the character of these collections. They mentioned, in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and the *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Catalogus*, the work of which we are speaking, under the title of “Onomasticon Jacobi Edesseni”! Cardinal Wiseman caught but half a glimpse of the truth. Rosen and Forschall³ advanced no further than Wiseman: they still translated the title *ܕܡܨܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܐ ܕܡܨܪܐ*, *secundum VERSIONEM Karkaphensem*! But no one has passed on this erroneous road beyond the old catalogue of the Paris National Library, which classified a collection of this kind among the “HISTORIAE SCRIPTORES!” This is not the first time that librarians have taken a missal for a treatise on astronomy. Very likely it will not be the last.

¹ This date is reached by means of MSS. in the Vatican Library. (J. S. Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.*, vol. I., pp. 494, 570).

² *Patrol. Graec.* XXII. col. 1261–1271 c.

³ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*. London, 1838. Folio. Pars I. *Codices Syriacos et Carshunicos amplectens*, pp. 34–71.

XI. Of the collections of which we are speaking, only two of those which represent the Massora of the Western Syrians contain in the title the words ܡܫܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܥܩܒ, to wit, the Additional Manuscript 7183 of the British Museum, and the MS. 152 of the Vatican library; but all are drawn up on the same plan and are so much alike that a single glance will determine them all to belong to one family.

XII. It is scarcely to be doubted that the school of philologists and grammarians, called "Karkaphensian Tradition," drew its name from the convent of "Kar'kaph'tho," in the neighborhood of Amid, not far from the great Syrian monastery of Karthamin, in the region of Upper Mesopotamia, which, on account of its numerous convents, received, in the history of the Middle Ages, the name of Târ-'Abdîn, or "Mountain of the Servants [of God],"—a name which it still bears to-day.¹ This school represented the grammatical and philological traditions of the Western Syrians.²

XIII. Who founded the Syrian Massora? A positive answer is difficult. No doubt the origines of the studies the results of which are collected in the volumes of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, mount up to the fourth or fifth centuries. Few proper names, however, are found in these MSS., that are certainly of the fifth century. Perhaps the "Deacon Thomas" who wrote the treatise on punctuation and accentuation inserted in these collections, may be identified with that Thomas of Edessa, who was connected with the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Abdas I., called "the Great" (538-552). The Massora seems to have been born in Babylonia, and to have been early developed there. Thence it passed to the West, where it made much progress, but in a somewhat altered direction. It is evident that James of Edessa gave a strong impulse to this kind of study. The place of honor given to his letter to George of Sarûg, to his treatise on punctuation and accentuation, and to his translations from Greek writers proves this past doubt. It is perhaps for this reason that the ܡܫܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܝܥܩܒ of his Highness Monseigneur Yûssef-ben-David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, bears, at the end of the title, this addition: "Works of Mar James of Edessa;"—not, beyond question, because the collection, such as we have it, was composed by James of Edessa, but in the sense that this great writer was the most illustrious popularizer of labors of this kind, the real founder of a Hellenistic and Græcizing school.³ It is enough, moreover, to read the letter of James of Edessa and to observe the rôle it plays in the Massoretic collections in order to perceive at once the conclusion to which all the facts point: "Let no one omit a letter from," says James of Edessa to the copyists, "and let no one add a letter to these Greek

¹ On all these questions see Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*, Paris, 1870. Pp. 123-130.

² Bar Hebraeus clearly identifies the Karkaphensian tradition with the Western Syrians.

³ See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1872. Vol. II., pp. 247-256, and cf. Martin: *Syriens Orientaux et Occidentaux*. Paris, 1873.

and Hebrew words:”—giving a considerable list. There is no doubt, then, but that James of Edessa was the great promoter of the Hellenizing movement which was wrought out in the bosom of the Monophysite portion of the Syrian race in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries of our era. Bar-Hebraeus even attributes to him some *ܬܠܬܐ ܬܚܝܬܐ ܬܚܝܬܐ* like those of the Karkaphensian school; but it is probable that he means by this the Karkaphensian collections, of which we may perhaps regard James of Edessa as the principal author.

It is from the translations of St. Basil, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, especially of Severus of Antioch, made by James of Edessa, that the Syrians obtained that terminology and barbarous orthography which disfigure the MSS. of the ninth to the twelfth centuries. It was James of Edessa, also, who enriched the Syrian tongue with some very curious words. It need not be added that the disciples, as always happens, outdid the master. It was a blessing that the Syrian words, properly so called, were in great part saved from these innovations, or the Aramaic language might have suffered a true disaster.

And let no one think that it was only a single Massorite who gave himself to this eccentricity. All yielded to the fashion; no one was able to withstand the Græcizing invasion. Only the Nestorian Massora remained almost entirely sheltered from this flood; but we do not fear to judge unjustly, when we say that it owed this less to good sense than to the circumstances of the times, and especially to the places where it lived.

XIV. The description which we have given of these collections of the Syrian Massora, suffices of itself to teach us the use that may be made of them, and the advantages we may hope to reap from their study. (1) We are not to expect to find a new version in them,—whether a “mountain version,” or any other kind. They contain nothing of this sort; and he will be sorely deceived who approaches their study with such a preconception. (2) We are not even to expect to find exegesis in them; for above all things, these works are, like the Jewish Massora, grammatical or philological. (3) What we may expect to find in them is the tradition of the proper pronunciation, and of a correct punctuation and accentuation. They are the Syrian counterpart of what the Jews called the “Manual for the reader,” or a “Master of the reader.” Indeed, the title that is given to these collections in the most ancient¹ MS. that has come down to us, containing the Nestorian Massora, is just this. On folio 309b. at the head of a treatise on punctuation and accentuation, we read the following title: “We are still writing, by God’s grace, the signs of the punctuation, of the ‘Books of the Maq’r’yânâ.’” The Maq’r’yânâ is, properly speaking, that which teaches to read. In the Indo-Germanic languages this is a comparatively easy thing to do. But in the Semitic languages, where only the consonants are written, it is not an easy task to teach,

¹ The date is 899 A. D.

or to learn, how to read a text, and to read it correctly. This accounts for the important rôle of the Maq'r'yânâ. We have in it, therefore, an important work that ought to be seriously studied; but which ought to be studied entirely from the point of view of Syriac phonology and lexicography.

XV. Is no profit to be obtained from it, then, for the study of Holy Scripture? Such a conclusion would be thoroughly mistaken. Just as the Hebrew Massora has rendered and will render great service to those who study the Old Testament; so the Syrian Massora can very greatly aid those who wish to study the Peshito and Philoxeno-Heraclensian versions of the Bible.

a. When we are trying to determine the canon of the Old and of the New Testaments, for example, one of the best sources of information that we can consult, is certainly the Massoretic collection; we have in these Massoretic volumes, not indeed a witness that is definitive, supreme and complete, but at least the witness of one of the most intelligent parts of two fractions of the Syrian race,—the Jacobite and Nestorian fractions; the witness of learned men who had often examined the sacred text minutely and scrupulously; who determined its reading, fixed its punctuation, marked its divisions, and collected all its lexicographical and grammatical peculiarities; and who did all this, not arbitrarily, but under the inspiration of their language, their church and their race. Such a witness as this, every body will understand, has great value.

b. Likewise, if our business is the determination of a reading in a given place, these Massoretic writings can render important service, if they contain the passage. Their testimony helps to control that of the Peshito or of the Philoxenian, the text of which they analyze and punctuate. Moreover, when we combine the separate MSS. of this family, we may find that we can reconstruct from them the whole text, since the fragments which are not in one ܡܫܬܪܝܢ, may be in another.

XVI. These Massoretic manuscripts contain many marginal notes, but all have reference to points of grammar or lexicography.¹ No one of these notes, for example, makes any allusion to the additions to the text, found in the Curetonian version.

XVII. There are known about a dozen MSS. of the Syrian Massora. Of these, there are two at Rome,—one in the Vatican, No. 152 (of about the year 950), and one in the Barberini library, VI. 62, formerly 101 (1093). The National library at Paris has one,—No. 62, formerly 142, (tenth to eleventh century). Monseigneur Yûssef-ben-David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, owned one, dated about 1015,² and probably has it yet. All the others are at London, to wit:—as representatives of the Jacobite Massora, the Additional MSS. 7183 (twelfth century); 12178 (tenth to eleventh century); 14482 (eleventh to twelfth century);

¹ Cf. Martin: *La Massore*, &c. *Pieces Justificatives*.

² This MS. is now in the Library of the Cathedral Church of the Syrians at Mosul.

14667, f. 1-22 (tenth century); 17162, f. 1-14 (tenth to eleventh century); 14684, f. 1-117 (twelfth to thirteenth century). A single MS. represents the Nestorian Massora, to wit, the Additional MS. 12138, which belongs to the year 899. Total: one MS. of the ninth century, one of the tenth, two of the eleventh, four of the tenth to the eleventh, three of the twelfth; in all eleven Massoretic collections, of which two are at Rome, one at Paris, seven at London and one at Damascus or Mosul.¹

This then is what we had to say about the pretended Karkaphensian version, which is not a version, not even a recension in the proper sense of the word. If it is to be classed with any works made in the West, it must be put with the family of *Correctoria*, rather than with any other category of MSS. whatever.

XVIII. Before closing, we may pause long enough to say a word as to certain other Syrian versions that have from time to time been brought into discussion. After having examined carefully the passages of the authors on the authority of whom the existence of these has been affirmed, we are constrained to believe that in some of the cases the sense of the word has been misunderstood. There are in all languages, in Aramaic as well as the rest, some general expressions, the precise sense of which is determined only by the context and analogy. It is the duty of critics to allow weight to the circumstances which determine the sense of such a word in each passage. We have already seen them allowing themselves to be led into error by the word **ܬܡܝܕܐ**, the proper and rigorous signification of which is "Tradition," "Massora," but which is very often taken as "Version." The word generally used in Aramaic to designate a version is **ܬܦܫܘܬܐ**, although, to speak rigorously, this term rather signifies the "edition" of a book. There is also another term which has been the cause of much confusion; this is the word **ܩܝܡ**, "to comment," "explain," "interpret." The sense of "to translate" has often been given to this word; and thus commentaries have often been transformed into versions. Many writers of merit bear in literary history the name of **ܬܦܫܘܬܐ**, "commentators," "interpreters." Such, for example, are Paul of Callinicum (about 578), James of Edessa (+709-710), etc.; but no one seems to have received this name for having made versions of Sacred Scripture. James of Edessa deserved his title much more for the Greek writers whom he translated, than for his recension of Holy Scripture.

There is, nevertheless, a collection of texts that raise the suspicion that the Nestorians had a version made from the LXX., and that a century (or nearly that) before the Monophysites possessed theirs.

Of all the men who have ever lived, few seem to have had a more singular destiny than the Catholicus of the Nestorians, Mar Abbas, called the Great (538-552). Born in paganism, and brought up in the mysteries of Magism, he raised

¹ Cf. P. Martin: *La Massore chez les Syriens*; Wiseman: *Horae Syriacae*; W. Wright: *Catalogus*, vol. I., pp. 101-115.

himself by his strength of will, the force of his character, and the superiority of his talents, to the highest dignities of his sect and the most envied honors of his nation. What a curious history is this, of this Magian, becoming Christian, learning Aramean in the school of Nisibis, emigrating to Edessa in order to study Greek and literature, pushing on as far as Constantinople, some say even to Rome, sojourning at Alexandria for the completing of his exegetical labors, at last returning to his native land, there attaining the Catholicate, enjoying the intimacy of the great Khosroes, and at last,—that nothing might be lacking to his strange fate,—dying in disgrace and irons! Singular figure, which some writer of talent should rescue for us from the obscurity which invests it.

Now, a body of documents scarcely permits us to doubt that the Catholicus Mar Abbas translated the Old and New Testaments out of the Greek, in the first quarter of the sixth century, almost at the very time when Philoxenus of Mabug, in the West, was translating the Holy Gospels by the direction of his Chorepiscopus Polycarp (508). Mar Aud-Icho, metropolitan of Nisibis in the fourteenth century (about 1340) is explicit: "Mar Abbas, the Great," he says, "translated (ܩܕܝܫܐ) and explained (ܬܦܠܝܬ) the whole Old Testament from the Greek into Syriac. He commented also on Genesis, the Psalms, the Proverbs,"¹ etc. Ebed-Jesu (or Audicho, as the Nestorians call him) speaks only of a translation of the Old Testament, but other writers fill the lacuna. Bar-Hebraeus, to whom the epithet of "the Great" might be justly given (1226–1286), does not distinguish between the Old and New Testaments: "Mar Abbas," he tells us, "went to Nisibis to learn Syriac letters. Desirous also of learning Greek, he went to Edessa and put himself to school to a teacher named Thomas who knew enough Greek. Then he went with his teacher to Alexandria, and, with his help, translated the Holy Scriptures out of the Greek into Syriac."² Lastly, two other Nestorian writers, Maris and Amru-ben-Mathay (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) are more explicit. They say clearly that Mar Abbas "composed a fine collection of Canons, which bears his name, and that he translated (or explained) the books of the Old and of the New Testaments."³

No fragments have come down to us which confirm these statements. We have never met with any other version than the Peshito in the liturgical books of this sect; and no other author known to us has mentioned the fact that we have here brought out. We must remember, however, that the Nestorian literature has almost entirely perished, in the invasions which through fifteen centuries have never ceased to sweep over Babylonia. It is not surprising, then, that this version, if it was made, has perished with so many other books, of the real existence of which there is not the least doubt.

¹ J. S. Assemani, vol. III., pt. I., p. 75. Cf. II., p. 130, col. 1, p. 411 and III., part I., pp. 407–408.

² J. B. Abbeloos and Lamy, *Greg. Bar-Hebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, vol. II., p. 89–91.

³ J. S. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* II. 412.

It has been concluded, likewise, from a passage in the Commentaries of Dionysius Bar-Tsalibi (+1171), citing the *Historia Miscellanea* of Zacharias, bishop of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos,¹ that Maras, bishop of Amid, translated the Gospels from Greek into Syriac. The conclusion does not seem to us, however, included in the premises.

[So far the Abbé at this place. Elsewhere he admits of course the biblical translations of James of Edessa; and also, on the strength of a passage to be found in Overbeck's *S. Syri Ephraemi aliorumque opera selecta*, p. 172, that Rabbulas, bishop of Edessa up to about 436, translated the New Testament. The passage reads: "And he translated (قَامَّ) by the wisdom of God that was in him, the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, on account of its variations, accurately according to what it was."]

¹ See *Anecdota* of Land, vol. III., p. 252.

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.¹

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In theology the Christological system starts from the *πρῶτον εὐαγγέλιον*, in Gen. III., 15. Not so the ancient synagogue. Starting from the talmudic saying, that "all the prophets have prophesied only of the days of the Messiah," it found references to the Messiah in many more passages of the Old Testament than those verbal predictions to which we generally appeal. According to this maxim, almost every passage of the Old Testament is to be referred to Messiah. That this was believed in the time of Jesus we see from passages like John v., 46, "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me." Now, these words are so general, that they cannot very well be confined, as is usually done, to Gen. III., 15; XII., 3; XVIII., 18; XXII., 18; XLIX., 10; Deut. XVIII., 15, 18. The same apostle also says (ch. XIX., 36): "For these things were done, that the Scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken." Almost the same idea, as expressed in the talmudic passage quoted above, we find in the words of Peter, when he says (Acts III., 24): "Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." Such being the ideas in the consciousness of the writers in the time of Jesus, it is of no small interest to examine the sources, such as the *Talmud*, both the Jerusalem and Babylonian, the *Targumim* or Chaldee Paraphrases, and the oldest *Midrashim*, whence we derive our information on the subject.

GENESIS.

I., 2. "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

This is the Spirit of the King Messiah, as it is said, "And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him" (Isa. XL., 2).—*Beresith Rabba*, sec. 2, 8. Whence do you prove that Messiah already existed before the creation? From "And the Spirit of God," etc.; and that the Messiah is meant thereby is seen from Isa. XL., 2, "And the Spirit of the Lord," etc.—*Pesikta Rabbathi*, fol. 58, col. 2.

¹ Although Dr. Edersheim, in his *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (London, 1883), has treated the same subject, yet a comparison of both will show the truth of the old saying, "Duo, quum faciunt idem, non est idem." The reader will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to verify Edersheim's quotations; for to do this it requires not only a rabbinic library, but also a knowledge of rabbinic literature. As both these things cannot be expected of every one, it has been our aim to give the quotations in full. And this is one feature wherein our treatment of the subject differs from Edersheim. In Schaff-Herzog's *Encyclop.*, s. v. *Midrash*, the reader will find the necessary information concerning the midrashic literature; and s. v. *Targum*, all that refers to the Chaldee paraphrases of the Old Testament.

I., 4. "And God saw the light that it was good."

Which light is it that shineth to the congregation of God? The light of Messiah, as it is written, "And God saw the light that it was good;" that is to say, God saw beforehand, before the world was created, that the Messiah will bring salvation to the nations.—*Pesikta Rabbathi*, fol 62, col. 1. Referring to this exposition, the author of *Yalkut Shimeoni*, fol. 56, asks: What is indicated in the words (Ps. xxxvi., 10), "In thy light shall we see light?" what else than the light of the Messiah, of whom it is said, "And God saw the light that it was good."

III., 15. "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The *Jerusalem Targum* thus paraphrases this passage: And it shall come to pass, when the children of the woman shall labor in the law, and perform the commandments, that they shall bruise and smite thee on thy head, and shall kill thee; but when the children of the woman shall forsake the precepts of the law, and shall not perform the commandments, thou shalt bruise and smite them on their heel, and hurt them; but there shall be a remedy for the children of the woman, but for thee, O serpent, there shall be no remedy, for hereafter they shall to each other perform a healing in the heel in the latter end of the days, in the days of King Messiah. The *Targum of Jonathan* goes on in the same strain, and concludes: Nevertheless there shall be a remedy for them; but to thee there shall not be a remedy; for they shall hereafter perform a healing in the heel in the days of King Messiah. The *Talmud Sota*, fol. 49, col. 2, speaks of "the heels of the Messiah" (עקבות משיח), i. e., of the time when the heel of the Messiah shall be bruised by the serpent, with reference to the troubles in the Messianic time. As this passage is very interesting, we give it here in full: Rabbi Pinchas, the son of Yair, said, Since the destruction of the Temple, the sages and the nobles are ashamed, and cover their heads. The wonder-workers are disdained, and those who rely upon their arm and tongue have become great. There is none who teaches (Israel), none who prays for the people, none who inquires (of the Lord). Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven. Rabbi Eliezer the Great said: Since the destruction of the Temple, the sages have commenced to be like school-masters, and the school-masters like precentors, and the precentors like the laymen, and these too grew worse, and there is none who asks or inquires. Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven. In the footprints of the Messiah impudence will increase, and there will be scarcity. The vine will produce its fruit, but wine will be dear. The government will turn itself to heresy, and there will be no reproof. And the house of assembly will be for fornication. Galilee will be destroyed, and Gablan laid waste, and men of Gebul will

go from city to city, and find no favor. And the wisdom of the scribes will stink, and those who fear sin will be despised, and truth will fail. Boys will confuse the faces of old men. Old men will rise up before the young. The son will treat the father shamefully, and the daughter will rise up against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes will be those of his own household. The face of that generation will be as the face of a dog; the son will have no shame before his father. Upon whom, then, are we to trust? Upon our Father who is in heaven.—*Sota*, fol. 49, col. a, b.

IV., 25. "For God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew."

Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, Eva meant that seed which comes from another place. And who is meant? The King Messiah.—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 23. Rav Huna said, It is written, "For God hath appointed another seed;" this is the seed which comes from another place. Who is that? The King Messiah.—*Ruth Rabba*, sec. 8.

XIX., 32. "Come, let us make our father drink wine, that we may preserve seed of our father."

Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of Rabbi Samuel: The daughters said, "that we may preserve seed of our father." It is not written "a son," but "seed," which is to indicate the seed which is to come from another place. And what seed is it? The King Messiah.—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 41.

XXII., 18. "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."

Why does God compare the Israelites to the sand of the sea? Because without sand no plant can be planted, and thus no one could exist; because there would be no fruits. Thus, likewise, the world could not exist without the Israelites; wherefore it is also written, "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." In this life, it is true, the Israelites are compared to the dust of the earth, but in the Messianic age they will be like the sand of the sea; for as the sand makes the teeth dull, so also will the heathen be destroyed in the time of the Messiah, as it is said: "Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion" (Num. xxiv., 19).—*Bemidbar Rabba*, sec. 2.

XXXV., 21. "And spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar."

The *Targum Jonathan*, in loco, And Jacob journeyed and extended his tabernacle beyond the tower of Edar, the place whence hereafter King Messiah shall be revealed in the end of days.

XLIX., 10. "Until Shiloh come."

The *Targum Onkelos* paraphrases, Until that Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom. The *Jerusalem Targum*, Until the time that King Messiah shall come, whose is the kingdom. The *Targum Jonathan*, Until the time that

King Messiah, the youngest of his children, shall come. The *Midrash Bereshith Rabba* (sec. 98, 99), *Midrash Echa* (i. e., on Lamentations i., 16) refer the expression "Shiloh" to the Messiah. That "Shiloh" was regarded as the name of the Messiah, we see from the following interesting talmudic passage: What is his name? They of the school of Rav Shila said, His name is Shiloh, as it is said, "Until Shiloh come." But those of the school of Rabbi Yanai said, His name is Yinon, as it is said, "Before the sun (was) his name was Yinon" (Ps. LXXII., 17). They of the school of Hanina said, Hanina is his name, as it is said, "Where I will not show you favor" (Jer. XVI., 13). And some say, His name is Menachem, the son of Hezekiah, as it is said, "Because he keeps far from me the Comforter, who refreshes my soul" (Lam. i., 16). The rabbis say, His name is the leper of the house of Rabbi, as it is said, "Surely he hath borne our sickness, and endured the burden of our pains, yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted" (Isa. LIII., 4).—*Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 2.¹

— "And unto him shall the gathering of the people be."

The same is meant to whom the prophecy refers, "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people" (Isa. XI., 10).—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 99.

XLIX., 11. "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes." The *Jerusalem Targum*: How fair is King Messiah, who is hereafter to arise from the house of Judah! He girdeth up his loins, and goes forth to battle against his foes, smiting kings with (their) princes, reddening their rivers with the blood of their slain, and whitening his valleys with the fatness of their strength; his garments are dipped in blood; he is like to the treader of grapes. The *Targum Jonathan* speaks almost in the same words. *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 99, remarks on the words "and his ass's colt unto the choice vine," This refers to him of whom it is said "lowly, and riding upon an ass" (Zech. ix., 9). In the Talmud we read, Whoever sees a vine in his dream, will see the Messiah, because it is written, "and his ass's colt unto the choice vine."—*Berachoth*, fol. 57, col. 1.

XLIX., 12. "His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk."

The *Jerusalem Targum*: How fair are the eyes of King Messiah to look upon! more beautiful than the vine, purer than to behold with them the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of innocent blood; his teeth are more skilful in the law than to eat with them deeds of violence and rapine. The *Targum Jonathan* uses almost the same words.

¹ The same we find in *Midrash Echa*, or *Lamentations*, on i., 16.

EXODUS.

XII., 42. "It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: this is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations."

The *Jerusalem Targum* paraphrases: It is a night to be kept and established for the deliverance which is from before the Lord in the bringing out of the children of Israel free from the land of Egypt. For there are four nights written in the book of remembrance. The first night was when the word of the Lord was revealed on the world to create it.... The second night was when the word of the Lord was revealed to Abraham between the parts.... The third night was when the word of the Lord appeared against the Egyptians at midnight.... The fourth night shall be when the world shall arrive at its end to be dissolved, the cords of the wicked shall be consumed, and the iron yoke shall be broken, Moses shall go forth from the midst of the desert, and King Messiah from the midst of Rome, etc.

XVI., 25. "Moses said, Eat that to-day; for to-day is a sabbath unto the Lord."

Jerusalem Talmud: Rabbi Levi said, If Israel would only observe one sabbath as it ought to be observed, the son of David would soon come, as it is said, "Moses said," etc.—*Taanith*, fol. 64, col. 1.¹

XL., 9. "And shalt hallow it, and all the vessels thereof, and it shall be holy."

The *Targum Jonathan*: And thou shalt hallow the magnificent crown of the kingdom of the house of Judah and the King Messiah, who will redeem Israel in the latter days."

XL., 11. "And thou shalt anoint the laver and his foot, and sanctify it."

The *Targum Jonathan*: And thou shalt anoint the laver, etc., for the sake of Messiah, the son of Ephraim, who is to proceed from him; by whom Israel will subdue Gog and his allies in the latter days.

LEVITICUS.

XXVI., 12. "And I will walk among you."

This refers to the Messianic time, as it is said, "For they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion" (Isa. LII., 8).—*Pesikta Sotarta*, fol. 34, col. 1.

NUMBERS.

XI., 26. "And they prophesied in the camp."

The *Jerusalem Targum*: And both of them prophesied together, and they said, In the end of the heel of days, Gog and Magog and their army shall ascend against Jerusalem, but by the hand of King Messiah they shall fall.

¹ In the Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbath*, fol. 118, col. 2, we read: If Israel would only observe two sabbaths as they ought to, they would soon be redeemed.

XXIII., 21. "And the shout of a king is among them."

The *Targum Jonathan*: And the shouting of King Messiah which he will shout among them.

XXIV., 7. "And his kingdom shall be exalted."

The *Jerusalem Targum*: And the kingdom of King Messiah will be magnified.

XXIV., 17. "There shall come a star of Jacob."

The *Targum Onkelos*: When a mighty king of Jacob's house will reign; and the Messiah will be magnified. The *Targum Jonathan*: When there shall reign a strong king of the house of Jacob, and Messiah shall be anointed, and a strong sceptre shall be from Israel, etc. Rabbi Simeon the son of Yochaï lectured: Rabbi Akiba, my teacher, explained, "There shall come a star of Jacob;" Cosiba comes of Jacob, for when he saw Bar Cosiba, he exclaimed, This is the King Messiah.—*Jerusalem Taanith*, fol. 68, col. 4. The Israelites said to God, How long shall we be in bondage? He replied, Till the day comes of which it is said, "There shall come a star of Jacob."—*Debarim Rabba*, sec. 1. Our rabbis have a tradition that in the week in which Messiah will be born, there will be a bright star in the east, which is the star of the Messiah.—*Pesikta Sotarta*, fol. 58, col. 1.

XXIV., 20. "But his latter end shall be that he perish for ever."

Targum Jonathan: And their end in the days of King Messiah."

XXIV., 24. "And ships shall come from the coast of Chittim," etc.

Targum Jonathan: The destiny of all of them is to be conquered by King Messiah.

DEUTERONOMY.

XXV., 19. "Thou shalt not forget it."

Targum Jonathan: And even to the days of King Messiah thou shalt not forget it.

XXX., 4. "And from thence will he fetch thee."

Targum Jonathan: From thence will the word of the Lord your God gather you by the hand of Elijah the high-priest, and from thence will he bring you by the hand of King Messiah.

XXXII., 7. "Remember the days of old," etc.

Another explanation is this: "Remember the days of old" means that whenever God brings sufferings upon you, remember how many good and comfortable things he is about to give you in the world to come. "Consider the years of many generations" denotes the generation of the Messiah.—*Siphre* (ed. Friedmann), p. 134, col. 1.

XXXIII., 12. "And he shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders."

"And he shall cover him" denotes the first temple; "all the day long" denotes the second temple; "and he shall dwell between his shoulders" denotes

the days of the Messiah. Rabbi said, "and he shall cover him" denotes this world; "all the day long" this are the days of the Messiah; "and he shall dwell between his shoulders" means the world to come.—*Talm. Bab. Zevachim*, fol. 118, col. 2.

XXXIII., 17. "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock."

This passage is quoted in connection with Gen. xxxii., 5, "And I have oxen and asses." According to the rabbis, ox denoted the anointed of the war, for it is said, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock;" ass denotes the King Messiah, for it is said, "Lowly, and riding upon an ass" (Zech. ix., 9). *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 95.

RUTH.

- I., 1. "Now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land."

Targum: And it came to pass... a mighty famine in the land of Israel. Ten mighty famines were decreed from the heavens to be in the world from the day that the world was created until King Messiah should come.

- II., 14. "And Boaz said unto her, at meal-time come thou hither," etc.

The Midrash *in loco* remarks that Rabbi Jochanan interpreted this in six different ways. He referred it to David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Manasseh, King Messiah and Boaz. As to the fifth we read: The words refer to the history of King Messiah. "Come thou hither" means draw near to the kingdom; "and eat of the bread," i. e., eat of the bread of the kingdom; "and dip thy morsel in the vinegar," i. e., these are the sufferings, as it is said, "He was wounded for our transgressions" (Isa. liii., 5); "and she sat beside the reapers" because his kingdom will once be put aside for a short time, for it is said, "For I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken" (Zech. xiv., 2). "And he reached her parched corn," i. e., the kingdom will again be given to him, as it is said, "And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth" (Isa. xi., 4). Rabbi Berachia said in the name of Rabbi Levi: "As the first redeemer, so the last; as the first redeemer (i. e., Moses) revealed himself and disappeared from before them (i. e., the Israelites)—and how long was he hidden from them? Three months, as it is said, "And they met Moses and Aaron" (Exod. v., 20)—so also will the last redeemer appear to them and disappear from before them. And for how long? Rabbi Tanchuma said in the name of the rabbis, Forty-five days, and this it is what is said: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away" and "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh" (Dan. xii., 11, 12). And what kind of days are these? Rabbi Isaac, the son of Kezarthia, said in the name of Rabbi Jonah: During these forty-five days the Israelites cut up mallows and eat them, and to this refers "Who cut up

mallows by the bushes" (Job xxx., 4). Whither does he (the redeemer) lead them (the Israelites, before he disappears)? From the land into the wilderness of Judea, as it is said, "Behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness" (Hos. ii., 14). Some say, "into the wilderness of Sihon and Og," for it is said, "yet make thee dwell in tabernacles as in the days of the solemn feast" (xii., 9). Whosoever believes in him, shall live; whosoever believes not in him, goes to the nations of the world, which kill him. At the end God reveals himself to them, and sends down manna. "There is no new thing under the sun" (Eccl. i., 9).—*Ruth Rabba*, sec. 5.

III., 15. "He measured six measures of barley."

Targum: And he measured six measures of barley. and immediately it was said by prophecy that hereafter there should proceed from her the six righteous ones of the world, who should each of them hereafter be blessed with six blessings,—David, and Daniel, and his (three) companions, and King Messiah.

IV., 18. "Now these are the generations of Pharez."

You find that the word תולדות (i. e., generations) is everywhere in Scripture written defective (i. e., without the *waw* ך), except in two passages, viz., "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth" (Gen. ii., 4), and "These are the generations of Pharez." And there is a great reason for this. Why? It is said, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth," where the word תולדות is written *plene*. Why? Because when God created his world, there was not yet the angel of death in the world, and therefore the word is written *plene*. But when Adam and Eva sinned, all the תולדות (generations) in the Scripture became *defective*; when Pharez arose, his תולדות became again *plene*, because from him proceeds Messiah, and in his time God swallows up death, as it is said, "He will swallow up death in victory" (Isa. xxv., 8). Therefore in these two passages (Gen. ii., 4; Ruth iv., 18) the word תולדות is written *plene*.—*Midrash on Exodus*, or *Shemoth Rabba*, sec. 30.

IV., 20. See Gen. iv., 25.

1 SAMUEL.

II., 10. "And exalt the horn of his anointed."

Targum: And will magnify the kingdom of his Messiah.

2 SAMUEL.

XXII., 28. "And the afflicted people thou wilt save."

This passage is brought in connection with the advent of the Messiah in the *Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1: Rabbi Yochanan said, If thou seest a generation whose prosperity is gradually diminishing, look out for Him, for it is said, "And the afflicted people thou wilt save."

XXIII., 1. "Now these be the last words of David."

Targum: Now these are the words of prophecy of David, which he prophesied concerning the end of the world, concerning the days of consolation, which are hereafter to come.

XXIII., 3. "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."

Targum: He promised to set up from me a king, who is the Messiah, that shall rise and reign in the fear of the Lord.

1 KINGS.

IV., 33. "And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree, etc."

Targum: And he prophesied concerning the kings of the house of David, who were hereafter to reign in this world, and in the world to come of Messiah, and he prophesied concerning the cattle, etc.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

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1. On Genesis II., 9 b.

In an instructive review of Budde's *Biblische Urgeschichte*, in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for last year, p. 136, Professor Kuenen argues, from the *form* of the verse Gen. II., 9 b (ועץ החיים בתוך הגן ועץ הדעת טוב ורע), that the words ועץ הדעת טוב ורע are an addition—though an addition made by the author himself—to the original narrative. In drawing this inference, however, the learned critic appears to have overlooked a peculiarity of Hebrew style. When Hebrew writers have occasion to combine a double subject (or object) in one sentence, it is their habit, not unfrequently, to complete the clause containing one of these subjects (or objects), attaching the other to this clause subsequently. Examples: (a) Gen. xli., 27 a, where the seven ears are to be regarded, equally with the seven kine, as subjects to שבע שנים הנה, so that the ׀ has the force of “as also” (*gleich wie*); Num. xvi., 2 a, 18 b, 27 b; Judg. vi., 5 a, כִּי הם ומקניהם יעלו ואהלהים; Isa. lv., 1 a. (b) Gen. i., 16 b, where there is no occasion, with AV., to supply the verb “he made,” but, as the accents also indicate, הכוכבים, as well as המאור הקטן, are appointed to rule over the night;¹ xii., 17, וינגע י״י את פרעה נגעים גדלים ואת ביתו xxxiv., 29; xliii., 15 a, 18, ולקחת אתנו לעבדים ואת חמרנו; Num. xiii., 23 b, 26 b, וישיבו אתם דבר ואת כל העדה; Jer. xxvii., 7 a; 1 Kgs. v., 9; 1 Sam. vi., 11; Judg. xxi., 10 b. (c) Analogous examples with prepositions: Gen. xxviii., 14; Exod. xxxiv., 27 b, כרתי אתך ברית ואת ישראל; Deut. vii., 14 b (cf. xxviii., 54 a, 56 a); Jer. xxv., 12 (על); xl., 9 (ל), etc.

The words thus attached are not, in all these cases, to be treated (with Ewald, § 339 a²) as subordinate. The order in Gen. II., 9 b, is quite regular and natural. Either ועץ החיים ועץ, ובתוך הגן עץ החיים ועץ הדעת טוב ורע, or ועץ החיים ועץ הדעת טוב ורע בתוך הגן would have been inelegant and heavy. From the *form* of the verse, at any rate, no support can be derived for the conjecture of Professor Kuenen.

¹ Construe, therefore, “And God made the two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light, as also the stars, to rule the night.” Where two *zagephs* are repeated (in the same half-verse), the second always marks a less appreciable break than the first. See, e. g., i., 20 a; iii., 5 a, 17 b, etc.

² 1 Sam. xviii., 6, is pretty clearly corrupt. In xxv., 42, הלכת should probably be read (cf. Ex. ii., 5). xxix., 10, is very abnormal; analogy requires the insertion of אתם after השכם בבקר

2. On מֵאֵין בְּמִוֶּךְ (Jer. x., 6, 8).

In order to estimate the various explanations that have been offered on this difficult phrase, it will be necessary to begin by examining briefly the use of מֵאֵין, and of the allied מִבְּלִי, in Hebrew generally.

מֵאֵין occurs in the general sense of "without" in a number of passages, of which the earliest are Isa. v., 9; vi., 11; and מִבְּלִי is used similarly, from Jer. ii., 15. How is this use to be explained, and what precisely is the force attaching to the preposition in these phrases? Our readers will be familiar with the use of מִן after verbs implying "cessation," for the purpose of defining the particular nature of the cessation intended:—"After sixty-five years Ephraim shall be broken מֵעַם *away from* (being) *a people*" (which becomes, in our idiom,¹ *so that it be no more a people*); "Every house is shut up מִבּוֹא *away from* (any) *entering in*" (=so that none entereth in); "Therefore it shall be night to you מִחֲזוֹן *away from vision*" (=that there be no vision); etc. Arguing from these, and many similar passages, we should expect in such a sentence as "The land shall be wasted *that there be no inhabitant* (or, *none passing through*, etc.)," to find the latter part expressed in Hebrew by מִיֹּשֵׁב (or מִמְעַבֵּר²). Instead of this, however, we find regularly מֵאֵין יֹשֵׁב (or מִבְּלִי), and similarly with other words, מֵאֵין אָדָם, מֵאֵין עֹבֵר (or מִבְּלִי).³ One of the two negative particles מִן or אֵין (esp. בְּלִי) must here be pleonastic; and it seems, in fact, that אֵין is added for the purpose of strengthening the idea expressed by מִן, just as it strengthens the idea expressed by בְּלִי in a phrase which occurs in two widely separated parts of the Old Testament, and carries, therefore, with it the presumption of being a genuine Hebrew idiom:—... הַמִּבְּלִי אֵין "Is it on account of there being no (literally, Is it from the deficiency of no) graves in Egypt...?" "Is it on account of there being no God in Israel...?" (Exod. xiv., 11; 2 Kgs. i., 3, 6, 16).⁴ As thus used, however, both מֵאֵין and מִבְּלִי presuppose an antecedent clause expressing some negative idea with which מִן forms the connecting link. If, therefore, they are rendered "without," it must be recollected that this preposition is used in a pregnant sense, expressing essentially the consequences of a preceding act.

It is only in the Book of Job that מִבְּלִי is used more freely in the sense of "without," the connection with a preceding verb being no longer distinctly felt.

¹ Thus drawing attention not to the *old* state which has ceased, but to the *new* state which has arrived.

² As indeed occurs, Zech. vii., 14 (מַעְבֵּר וְשֹׁב).

³ Jer. iv., 7; ix., 9; xxvi., 9; xxxii., 43; xxxiii., 10, 12; Ezek. xiv., 15; xxxiii., 28, etc. These cases will, of course, be carefully distinguished from those in which מִן has a *causal* force; as Deut. ix., 28; Isa. v., 13, רַעַת מִבְּלִי *from lack of knowledge*; Hos. iv., 6; Jer. vii., 32 = xix., 11, מִקֹּדֶם (according to Hitz., Ewald, Graf, Keil, and RV. margin).

⁴ Examples of the corresponding phrase in Syriac (ܡܢ ܠܝܢ) are cited by Payne Smith, *The. Syr.*, col. 528, e. g. Ephr. i., 11 (ܡܢ ܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܝܢ); Lagarde, *Reliquiae Juris Eccles.*, 141, 6; 142, 8.

Thus, iv., 20, "*Without any heeding, they perish forever;*" vi., 6, "Will that which is tasteless be eaten *without salt?*" xxiv., 7, "Naked they pass the night **מְבֹרֵשׁ לְבוּשׁ** *without raiment*" (cf. verse 10, "Naked they walk about **לְבוּשׁ מְבֹרֵשׁ**"); xxiv., 8, "*Refuge-less they cling to the rock.*" The analogy of these passages makes it probable that **מְבֹרֵשׁ** has the same force in iv., 11, "The lion perisheth *without prey,*" and xxxi., 19, "If I saw one perishing *without raiment,*" although otherwise "for lack of" would here afford an excellent sense. But the general difference between the use of **מְבֹרֵשׁ** in Job, and that of both **מְבֹרֵשׁ** and **מֵאִין** elsewhere, is that, in these other instances, the clause thus introduced adds a *new* feature to the description ("The land shall be wasted,"—how? *so that the condition of persons passing through ceases*), whereas in Job **מְבֹרֵשׁ** expresses little more than a concomitant of the description (which is not even necessarily expressed in negative terms) contained in the principal clause.

Ewald, now, explains the phrase in Jer. x., from the use of **מֵאִין** explained above. He supposes that the original and proper force of **מֵאִין** was forgotten, that it was considered simply to express the sense of a strong negation, "even none," in no necessary connection with a preceding or connected clause, and that it was thus capable of standing in any part of the sentence. He translates, therefore, **מֵאִין כְּמוֹךָ** "there is *even none* like thee," quoting, as a parallel to this free use of **מֵאִין**, Job xviii., 15, **תִּשְׁכֹּן בְּאֹהֶל מְבֹרֵשׁ לוֹ**, which he renders—and Delitzsch follows him¹—"there shall dwell in his tent *even naught*² of his."

Is this explanation tenable? It is true, as we have seen, that in Job **מְבֹרֵשׁ** is used more independently than elsewhere; at the same time the prepositional force of **מִן** is never entirely lost; it is still a link, though a weakened link, connecting what follows with the main sentence. Upon Ewald's hypothesis, **מֵאִין** and **מְבֹרֵשׁ** appear suddenly, not merely as independent particles, but as denoting the *subject* of a sentence. **מִן** has thus lost its negative force altogether. In this use of **מֵאִין** there is no analogy. **מְבֹרֵשׁ** in Job xviii., which is appealed to, is not decisive. If it denotes there "even naught," it expresses an entirely different sense from that which it bears in any other passage in the same book. And there is no necessity to give it such a sense even there. The **מִן** may be partitive, as it is understood by Hitzig, "There shall dwell in his tent *what is naught* of his." In the difficulty of understanding how **מִן**, in its *negative* sense, can have been treated as a mere expletive, this explanation, which gives **מִן** a natural and intelligible meaning, seems preferable. The analogy appealed to by Ewald in support of his rendering of **מֵאִין כְּמוֹךָ** is thus, at best, an uncertain one, and seems, moreover, upon independent grounds, to be improbable.

Another mode of explanation is adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.*, s. v. **מִן**), who regards **מֵאִין כְּמוֹךָ** as involving an extension of that partitive use of **מִן** which

¹ "בְּלִי a strengthened בְּלִי."

² Neuter, (not masc.), on account of the *feminine* predicate.

we meet with in **מֵאָחֵר** in Hebrew, and which occurs more frequently in Arabic, "after negative particles, and after interrogatives put in a negative sense."¹ In Arabic: "Ye have not **أَلَيْسَ مِنْهُ** *ought of god* (= any god) except Him;" "Doth *ought of one* (**أَلَيْسَ مِنْ أَحَدٍ** = any, ullus) see you?" "Do you perceive of them *ought of one* (= a single one)?" "Not *ought of one* (= Not one) would hold you back," etc. In Hebrew: "If there shall be in the midst of thee a poor man, **מֵאָחֵר אֶחָיִךְ** *ought of one* (= any) of thy brethren, in one of thy gates," etc. (Deut. xv., 7); "If one doth **מֵאָחֵת מֵהֵנָּה** *ought of any* (= any) of those things" (Lev. iv., 2); "If he do *ought of one* (= any) of these things" (Ezek. xviii., 10). Assuming now that **מֵן** is rightly explained in these constructions as partitive, let us analyze its application to the passage in Jeremiah. **אֵין כְּמוֹךָ** means "(there is) naught of the like of thee," or, more briefly (the question of the precise meaning of **כ** not being before us) "(there is) naught like thee." **מֵאֵין כְּמוֹךָ**, then, will mean "(there is) *ought of naught like thee*." Is this an intelligible sentence? In a sentence either stating a hypothesis, or (as in the Arabic usage formulated by Dr. Wright) implying a negation, the use of **מֵן** to strengthen the idea of *one only*, by assuming rhetorically a *part of one*, the existence of which is then questioned or denied, is intelligible; but a sentence affirming (as would here be done by implication) the existence of a *part of nothing* is surely an incredible one. It is not credible even on the supposition that, **מֵאָחֵר** being in use as a strengthened form of **אַחֵר**, the **מֵן** was applied *mechanically* to **אֵין** for the purpose of strengthening it similarly; for the sentences in the two cases differ so widely in form and structure, that the foundation is lacking even for the operation of false analogy. Isa. xl., 17; xli., 24 [M. T. **מֵאֲפַעַן מֵאֲפַעַן וּפְעַלְכֶם מֵאֵין**] are not parallel. It is possible to say rhetorically, "Ye are of nothing and your work of naught" (whether *of* here means "a part of" [see Hitzig] or "consisting in"); but this does not justify the expression "(there is) part of naught of the like of thee."² At most, it would justify the punctuation **מֵאֵין**, and the rendering, "Part of naught is the like of thee." But this, while more artificial, is not stronger than the normal **אֵין כְּמוֹךָ**, and, though suitable where the subject is **אַתֶּם** or **פְּעַלְכֶם**, for the purpose of declaring emphatically its equivalence with nonentity, is unsuitable when the subject is a word like **כְּמוֹךָ**. Gesenius fails to show how **מֵאֵין כְּמוֹךָ** can be intelligibly conceived as a strengthened expression for **אֵין כְּמוֹךָ**.

מֵאֵין כְּמוֹךָ appears thus to admit of no satisfactory explanation. In Jer. xxx., 7, however, occurs the expression, "Ho, for great is that day **מֵאֵין כְּמֵהוּן**." The rendering of A.V. (as also of R.V.), "so that none is like it," can-

¹ Dr. Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, II., § 48 f. (b). See also Ewald, *Gr. Ar.*, § 577, and the examples cited by Gesenius.

² The rendering "(There is) *less than* naught of the like of thee" reads into **מֵן** more than it will legitimately express.

not be intended as a strictly literal version; for the analogy of the phrases **מֵאֵין** **יִשָּׁב**, etc., would demand the punctuation **מֵאֵין כְּמֹדוֹ**; there is no example of **אֵין** being pointed as if it were in the absolute state (**אֵין**) when it precedes the word with which it is related.¹ **מֵאֵין** must here bear its usual sense of “whence?” which agrees excellently with the context, “Ho, for great is that day; whence is the like of it?” This is the rendering adopted by Hitzig, who also proposes (following J. D. Michaelis) to point and render similarly in x., 6, 8 **כְּמֹדוֹ מֵאֵין** “whence is any like thee?” Nägelsbach, indeed, objects that we have always elsewhere **מִי כְּמֹדוֹ** “who is like thee?” but, whatever be the explanation accepted, we have to deal with an unusual expression; and a construction which is logically and grammatically intelligible seems preferable to one which is so difficult to understand or justify as either of those which have been considered above. The recurrence of the same form in verse 8 makes it improbable, as Graf remarks, that the **מ** is due merely to an accidental repetition of the preceding letter (**מַלְכוּתָם, אוֹתָם**). The Versions (both here² and in xxx., 7) all render by a simple negative, as if the reading were **אֵין**; but where delicate distinctions are involved, their evidence, as regards either reading or construction, is of slight value. In all probability, the true meaning of the phrase had been lost by the Jews, and a false interpretation is embodied in the Massoretic punctuation.

3. On 1 Samuel I., 5.

וּלְחַנָּה יָתֵן מִנָּה אַחַת אַפִּים כִּי אֵת חַנָּה אָהֵב וַיְהִי סֹגֵר רַחֲמָה.

The difficulty in **אַפִּים** is well-known. It is rendered (1) “heavily.” So Coverdale (1534), following the Vulgate “tristis;” Joseph Kimchi (afterwards David Kimchi, **כְּלוּמֹר בְּכַעַס הָיָה נוֹתֵן לָהּ מִנָּה אַחַת לִבְרָ**, Luther, “traurig;” Sebastian Münster (1635), “facie (demissa);” Geneva margin (“some read [so, in fact, the “Great Bible” of 1539] ‘a portion with an heavy cheer’”); and among moderns, Böttcher and Thenius. For this sense of **אַפִּים**, however, there is no support in the known usage of the language: **כַּאֲפִים** occurs with the meaning “in anger” in Dan. xi., 20; but even supposing that an early writer would use the dual, upon the analogy of **אֶרֶץ אַפִּים**, in that sense, the meaning obtained would be unsuitable; and the expressions **נָפְלוּ פָנָיִךְ** (Gen. iv., 6) and **פָּנִיהָ לֹא הָיָה לָהּ עוֹד** (1 Sam. i., 18) are not sufficient to justify the sense of a dejected countenance being assigned to **אַפִּים**.

It is rendered (2), in connection with **מִנָּה אַחַת** *one portion of two faces* (= two persons), i. e., a double portion. So the Peshito (**أَلْفَا**), Gesenius, and Keil. It is true that the Syriac **أَفْت** corresponds generally in usage to the Hebrew **פָּנִים**; but, to say nothing of the fact that a Syriasm is unexpected in Samuel, there is nothing in the use of the Syriac **أَفْت** to suggest that the *dual* would, in

¹ Job xxxv., 15 (see Delitzsch) will hardly be objected as an exception.

² Where, however, LXX. omits.

Hebrew, denote *two* persons; אֶחָד (like פְּנִים) is used of *one* person, the singular not occurring. If אֶחָד means *two* persons, it must be implied that אֶחָד, in Hebrew, might denote *one* person, which the meaning of the word obviously does not allow. Secondly, the construction, if this rendering were correct, would be unexampled. מִנָּה אֶפֶס evidently cannot be a genitive after the compound אַחַת; and the disparity between the two ideas (*one portion* and *two persons*) precludes us from treating it as a case of apposition (as is suggested by Keil);¹ Ewald, § 287 b, offers, in this respect, nothing parallel. Grammatically, therefore, not less than lexically, this rendering is exposed to the gravest objections.

(3) The history of the A.V. *a worthy portion* (inherited from the Genevan Version of 1560) is curious. It is based ultimately upon the rendering of the Targum: "And to Hannah he gave חֹלֶק חָר בְּחִיר *one choice portion*," which is thus paraphrased by Rashi רָאוּי לְהִתְקַבֵּל בְּסִבְרָתָא פְּנִים יְפוֹת "a portion fit to be received with a cheerful countenance." בְּחִיר in the Targum corresponds to the Heb. אֶפֶס; how it was obtained from it may not be perfectly certain; but Kimchi seeks apparently to explain it, when he annotates the text thus, מִנָּה אַחַת נִכְבְּדָתָא² לְהִשְׁבִּי אֶפֶס וְכַעֲסָהּ וְכֵן אֶפֶס אֶרֶץ כַּעֲסָה—in the Latin of Seb. Münster, "partem unam electam: hoc est, dedit Hannae partem honorificam at ab ea auferet animi et vultus molestiam." As here explained, "worthy" is no translation of אֶפֶס, but merely expresses a characteristic of the particular "portion" sufficient to produce the desired result. But this explanation is only of historical interest; it is evident that אֶפֶס alone cannot mean "against" or "to remove vexation." In the *Book of Roots*, however (s. v. אֶפֶס), there is suggested as an alternative לְפָנֶיךָ מִנָּה נִכְבְּדָתָא. This explanation is easier, but is open to objections, upon ground of usage and construction, similar to those already urged against (2).

In the LXX. אֶפֶס is represented by πλῆν, i. e., אֶפֶס. This reading at once relieves the difficulty of the verse, and affords a consistent and grammatical sense. אֶפֶס כִּי restricts or qualifies the preceding clause, precisely as in Num. XIII., 28. "But unto Hannah he used to give one portion;" this, following the מִנָּה of verse 4, might seem to imply that Elkanah felt less affection towards her than towards her sister. To obviate such a misconception, the writer continues, "Howbeit he loved Hannah, but the Lord had shut up her womb," the last clause assigning the reason why Hannah received but one portion. The words οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀνδρὶ παῖδόν in LXX. before πλῆν seem to be merely an explanatory addition inserted by the translators, and need not be supposed to have formed part of the Hebrew text read by them.

¹ See the Appendix to the writer's *Hebrew Tenses*, § 290.

² Cf. Abulwalid (11th century), جَهْدٌ عَظِيمٌ.

EMENDATIONS OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF ISAIAH.

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Biblical criticism is still in its infancy. Conservative scholars still deem it a sin to admit that the Massoretic text of the Bible has undergone great changes. They would rather impute to the sacred writers all kinds of deficiencies in logic and grammar, in oratory and common sense, than allow the intact state of the Holy Writings to be questioned. A careful study of the text of all the twenty-four books has convinced me that few chapters have escaped corruptions by mistake of writers, as well as alterations and interpolations at the hands of the scribes. Entire lines and columns have been misplaced and occasionally intermingled, so as to disturb the order and harmony of the entire composition. Expressions or prophetic predictions which sounded too harsh and severe were altered or softened by interpolations and additions, particularly at the end of a chapter or book. There are many Psalms and prophetic compositions in which the verse recurring at the end of each strophe, the refrain, has been sadly neglected and lost sight of to such a degree that only the sharp eye of a critic can discover it anew and restore the shattered fragments. No poetical rule has more consistently been adhered to by authors than the *Parallelismus Membrorum* by the Hebrew bards and writers. Yet even this has again and again been encroached upon by copyists and accentuators. And the best and most scholarly commentators have failed to give due attention to these facts. I am well aware that such general assertions will meet with ridicule and scorn, and unless I shall have accomplished the task of submitting my views of the whole Bible text to the scholarly world, I cannot expect to find many who will agree with me. Only the long array of proofs must at the end decide in my favor. At present I can merely plead for the patience and indulgence of my readers, as I intend to take up one chapter and one book after the other, being not so anxious to carry my point as to help in restoring, as far as possible, the original text. I shall commence with the book of *Isaiah*.

I.

4. **נָזַר אַחֲרָיִךְ**. These last two words disturb the parallelism, and fail to present a "climax" (Cheyne). On the other hand, the following verse seems defective, beginning in the second person, whereas no one is addressed. Read **אֶחָד (חֶרֶב) נִזְרָיִךְ**, and begin with it the new verse: "Ye single parts left by Assur, on what part will ye still be smitten, whilst adding 'perversion?'" The words are characteristically omitted in the Septuagint.

6. Read רָכְבוֹ instead of רַכְבָּה.
7. “סֹדִם” “זָרִים. So Studer, *Protest. Jahrb.*, Lagarde and Cheyne.
9. “כַּמַּעַט בְּסֹדִם.....לֹא־יִלְדֵי,” Had not Jehovah left a remnant, almost like Sodom would we have become;” cf. my article on לָךְ in Geiger’s *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 29.
11. וַיִּכְבְּשִׁים, more than superfluous alongside of וַיַּעֲתֹדִים, is not found in the LXX.
- 12 and 13 have greatly suffered at the hands of the Scribes, who felt like smoothing somewhat the rigid condemnations of the prophet. The LXX. offer the following reading: דְמוֹס חֲצָרִי לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ כִי תִבְיֹאוּ מִנְחָה שְׂוֹא קִטְרֶת: וְיִוִּים מִקְרָא (גְדוֹל) לֹא אוֹכֵל צוֹם וְעֶצְרָה תַעֲבֹה הִיא לִי: חֲדָשִׁים תִּשְׁבֹּתוֹת. The original reading seems to have been thus—verse 12: כִּי תִבְיֹאוּ לְרֹאוֹת פָּנַי לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ הִבִּיֵּא מִנְחָת שְׂוֹא קִטְרֶת תוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי מִי בְקִשׁ זֹאת מִיָּדְכֶם דְמוֹס חֲצָרִי: (13) חֹדֶשׁ וְשִׁבְתָּ קְרָא מִקְרָא צוֹם וְעֶצְרָה אֵין לֹא אוֹכֵל.
Translation: “If you come to see my face, do not continue to bring meal-offerings of falsehood; it is an incense of abomination to me.
“Who desires this from you? To trample my courts? The New Moon and the Sabbath, the calling of the assembly, the fasting and the solemn gathering—it is iniquity, I cannot bear it.”
17. חֲמוּץ gives no satisfactory sense. Read חֲמוֹם *the violence*, participle pass. of חָמַם.
23. וַחֲבָרִי. The plural is to be replaced by the singular, וַחֲבָר, *and a band*.
25. וְאַשִׁיבָהָ *I will bring back* gives no sense. Read וְאַשִׁימָהָ *I will put my hands upon thee*. The error was caused by the first word of the following verse.
28. וְשִׁבְיָהָ. Read וְשִׁבְיָהָ *and her captivity* = captives.
29. כִּי יִבְשׂוּ. In place of the third person there ought to be the second. Read כִּי תִבְשׂוּ *for you will be ashamed*.
31. וַהֲיָה הַחֶסֶן. This word “stronghold” does not well fit itself to the context. Read, with Lagarde, הַחֶמֶן “And the sun-pillar shall be as tow, and its maker (וַפְעֵלָו) a spark.” Here, for וַפְעֵלָו, Lagarde’s conjecture, I prefer the Massoretic reading, וַבַּעֲלָו *and its Baal*.

II.

- 2-4 are certainly not in their right place here, if ever spoken by Isaiah. They originally belong to the author of the fourth and fifth chapters of Micah, probably a contemporary of Zephaniah; and it is not impossible that some of the scribes wanted to stamp them as Isaianic by giving them verse 1 as a heading, while another Massoretic tradition attributed them to Micah.
- 5 has no connection with the following verses, either. But there can be little doubt that the verse is corrupt. I read בֵּית יַעֲקֹב לָכֵן וְנִזְכָּחָה יֵאֱמָר

יהוה כִּי נִטְשָׁתָּ אֱלֹהֶיךָ בֵּית יַעֲקֹב כִּי מָלְאוּ מִקְסָם וְעוֹנֵנִים בְּפִלְשִׁתִּים
וּבִילְדֵי נִכְרִים יִכְשְׁפוּ *O house of Jacob, let us dispute together, saith the Lord.*
For thou hast forsaken thy God, O house of Jacob. For they are full of sorcery
and diviners like the Philistines, and with the children of foreigners they practice
witchcraft.

The following passage is remarkable for the obvious confusion which some of its parts have suffered. Cf. verses 9, 10 and 11 with verses 17, 19, 21, and you discern a *refrain* in the composition. Yet it has been entirely lost sight of by the copyists; and confusion prevails to such a degree that the last verse has been given up by the latest commentators in utter despair. Here is the whole passage restored:—The first word of verse 11 offers the missing fragment of verse 9:

9. וַיֵּשַׁח אָדָם וַיִּשְׁפֹּל אִישׁ וְאֵל אִשָּׁא (אִשָּׁא) לָהֶם עֲוֹנָם;
.....*I shall not forgive them their sin.*
10. בֹּא בַעֲצוֹר וְהִטְמֵן בְּעַפְרֵי מִפְּנֵי פֶחַר יְהוָה וַיִּמְהַדֵּר גִּאֲוֹנוֹ בְּקוֹמוֹ לְעָרִץ
הָאָרֶץ;
11. וְהָיָה גְבוּהוֹת אָדָם שָׁפֹל וְיִשַׁח רוּם אֲנָשִׁים וְנִשְׁגַּב יְהוָה לְבָדּוֹ בַּיּוֹם
הַהוּא;
12. וַיִּשְׁפֹּל. Read וַיִּנְבֶּה.

17 belongs after verse 19; then let 18 read וְהָאֱלֹהִים כָּלִיל יִחְלְפוּ. The ו of the following word caused the omission of the same letter in the preceding one.

20. Read אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לוֹ לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לַחֲפָרָפוֹת וּלְעַטְלָפִים.

21 and 22 are but variant readings of verses 19 and 17—in fact, marginal glosses, partly corrupted.

III.

1. The last six words have, by various commentators, been declared to be glosses.
3. The word וַיִּוְעֵץ is probably also a gloss.
4. וְהַעֲלִימִם is correctly translated in the King James version “babes.” It is parallel to נְעָרִים, and identical with מַעֲלָל in verse 12.
6. Instead of וְהַמְכַשְׁלָה and the ruin, which offers no tolerable sense in the whole context, the Septuagint presents the reading וְהַמְבִּשְׁלָה and this dish. Taking into consideration that the following verse begins rather abruptly, I suggest that the original reading was וְהִמְבִּשְׁלָה הִזָּאת תִּקַּח and take this meat, the meaning being “they will offer a coat and a meal to any one accepting an office;” but אֵת יָדוֹ יִשָּׂא בַיּוֹם הַהוּא he will lift up his hand to swear that he will not accept the office, for his own household is not provided thereby.
- 8, at the close, shows traces, at least, of intentional alteration; and still more so the Greek version. Read בְּלִשְׁוֹנָם וּמִעַל מַעַל בַּיהוָה לְמַרְתָּ אֵת פָּנָי

- כְּבוֹדוֹ *with their tongues they commit treason against the Lord, to offend the face of his glory.* The Seventy have read כְּבוֹרֵם *their glory*, a euphemistic alteration. The rather meaningless word כְּסֻדֵם, in verse 9, originally may have been a marginal note belonging to כְּבוֹדוֹ in our verse.
- 10 and 11 have already been pointed out by Studer as marginal notes.
12. וְדַרְךְ *the way of thy paths* is a tautology. We expect a word analogous to מְאִשְׁרֵיךָ *thy guides*. Read וּמוֹרֵיךָ *and thy teachers*.
- 14 c and d belong after 15 a, b. "Why do you crush my people and grind the face of the afflicted. Ye eat up the vineyard; the plunder of the poor is in your houses." This address of the prophet, with its allusion to the vineyard, is continued in ch. v., which deals with the iniquities of the oppressors, repeating even in verse 16 the refrain of ch. II.
- 15 d commences a new chapter: נֹאם אֲדָנִי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *An oracle of the Lord Yahweh Ts'bhaoth.*
16. וַיֹּאמֶר (cf. LXX.). Read בֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה *Thus saith Yahweh.*
18. The LXX. read after the word תְּפִאֲרֶת a word like לְבוֹשֶׁם *the glory of their dress*, which was probably omitted for euphemistic reasons.
24. נִקְרָה, as parallel to מֶקֶם = "rottenness," is not, likely, a rope, but, as Grätz suggests, a corrupted form of רִקְבָה = "rottenness."
26. פְּתָחֶיהָ *"thy gates shall sigh and lament"* gives little satisfactory sense; and so is the following word (וּנְקָתָהּ) very obscure and problematic. Read יְפִיּוֹתֶיהָ *thy fair ones* וְרַכְמֶיהָ *and thy tender ones*. The Septuagint offers traces of this reading in the preceding verse, ὁ χαλλιστος, etc. לֹאֲרֹץ תִּשְׁבֶּנָּה *shall sit on the ground*. This connects fitly with the following verse (IV., 1).

IV.

2. The words צִמַּח and פְּרִי, expressions used during the Exile for the expected son of David (cf. זְרוֹעַ(ע) בָּבֶל *seed planted in Babel*) are missing in the Septuagint. Besides, the whole verse betrays the hand of an interpolator or emendator. That the whole chapter stands in close relation to the preceding one, can be learned from verse 4, which has undergone only slight changes. Cf. LXX., which have כִּי before אִם and יִרְחֹץ, instead of רָחַץ; the word בְּנֵי *sons* before בָּנוֹת may have originally belonged to the second part, דְּמֵי בְנֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם. There can be little doubt that the prophet describes God as bringing severe punishment upon the sons and daughters of Zion. Hence (verse 2) Jehovah is made to appear in wrath, like a burning fire and a sweeping storm of destruction. The expressions, however, seemed too severe for the time of the exilic repentance, and were therefore changed. Of course verse 3, speaking of single remnants who should be distinguished as holy ones, stands now rather without connection, and likewise verse 4.
5. Here the LXX. offer the older and more correct reading וַיְהִי וְהָיָה *And*

the Lord shall come and be....; but the rest shows again the work of תקון לַצִּבִּי וּלְכַבֹּד *emendation of the scribes*. Instead of כִּי עַל כָּל read סוֹפְרִים. Cf. with the whole, ch. xxviii., 2-6.

V.

1. Read, with Lowth and Cheyne, שִׁירַת דָּוִדִים *Love-song*.
9. LXX. have before באֲזוֹנִי the word וְנִגְלָה *It was revealed in the ears*, connecting it in the *status construct.* with יְהוָה. Cf., however, xxii., 14. I am inclined to read נֶאֱמַר "the oracle of the Lord." Geiger's explanation of it as an oath, "by the ears of the Lord" (*Urschrift*, 325), is without analogy.
12. וַיֵּין. Read לַיֵּין *to the wine* of their festive joy.
18. Instead of מֵתִי read מִזֵּי רָעֵב (cf. Deut. xxxii., 24), and in place of צָחָה read צָחָה צָמָא "burnt with hunger and dried out with thirst."
- 17 belongs after 10. When the fields have become barren, then "lambs shall graze as if on their usual pasture land, and the ruins of the fat the sheep shall eat up." Instead of גְּרִים read כְּרִים *fat sheep*, in accordance with LXX.
23. מִמֶּנּוּ, read מִמֵּנֶם *from them*.
25. The end of the verse is a thrice repeated refrain in ix. and x. (cf. ix., 11 and 20; x., 4). Hence the three chapters belong together, forming one prophetic composition. Indeed, a close observation will show that viii., 21 continues the thread broken off at the end of our chapter.
26. The final ם in לְגוֹיִם is one of the many DITTOGRAPHICAL errors found in the Bible. Read לְגוֹי מִרְחֹק *to the people from afar*. Of course Assyria is referred to.
28. כֶּצֶר *like flint*. This accords with the Septuagint, כֶּצֶיִר. Perhaps a better reading, more analogous to כְּסוֹפֶה, is כְּסַעַר *like storm*.
29. וַיִּנְהָם is taken from verse 30, and must be stricken out.
30. The words וְאוֹר חֹשֶׁךְ are not given in LXX., and are a gloss. Subject of the verse is no longer the hostile invader, but the people of Judea. I, therefore, believe that עַלְיִי is corrupt, and ought to read עַמִּי *my people*. "My people will, on that day, sigh like the roaring sea, (וַיִּבְטֹ) and look upon the land, and behold distressful darkness in the clouds." Continuation in viii., 21-23 and ix., 7-x., 4.

VIII.

21. "And it will pass through it hard prest and hungry, and when it will be hungry and full of anger, it will curse its God and its king, and turn upwards."
22. "And again it will look upon the earth, and behold, distress and darkness of need and affliction for the fleeing one."
23. For כִּי לֹא read כִּי לֹאֵל "For were there not darkness around the afflicted one, כִּי לֹא then the first one might take the easier way of escape along the

land of Zebulun and Naphtali, and the latter might take the heavier road along the sea and the other side of the Jordan, the province of the heathen.' Galilee." Cf. my article on לָן in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 26.

IX.

- 1-6 present a strange conglomeration which no hermeneutical art is able to clear up. Verse 1 is obviously a soothing balm for the affliction threatening in the preceding; but it is very doubtful whether the prophet felt like offering it in this connection. 2 goes on in the same strain. Instead of הָנוּי לֵא, it has been happily suggested to read, in accordance with the Peshito, הָנוּיִל *the joy*, corresponding to הַשְּׂמֵחָה. 5 and 6 have certainly no relation either to the verses preceding or to those following. They seem to belong to ch. XI., and so probably verses 1-3 (or 4?). About the first word of verse 6, I cannot help expressing surprise that so few of the commentators have found out the plain fact that the two letters לִם are simply a marginal note concerning the previous word שְׁלוֹם. A Massortie tradition existing to the effect that where applied to God שְׁלוֹם should be written in full (*plene*), and otherwise defectively, the scribes were at a loss whether to write it *plene* or *defectively*. This is the meaning of the two letters, which were by mistake added to the following word רָבָה.
- 7 connects again with ch. VIII. The word דָּבָר, however, offers no sense. LXX. have θάραρον = דָּבָר (?) or מִוֹת. Read דָּבָר *the sword*.
8. וִידְעוּ is not the right word here. Lagarde suggests וְנִדְפְּנוּ *And they shall blaspheme*. I would prefer וִירְגְּנוּ *they shall rebel*, the letters being quite similar to וִידְעוּ.
10. צִירִי is certainly to be corrected into שִׁירִי *the princes* (cf. Ewald and others).
12. עַד הַמִּכְבֹּה. Read, with Lagarde, מִכְּבֹּהִי.
- 14 has been generally declared a gloss.
16. לֹא יִשְׁמַח is not the proper word. Lagarde suggests יִפְסֹחַ, explaining it after Isaiah xxxi., 5, פָּסוּחַ וְהַמְלִיט = sparing and saving. I think לֹא יִחְמֹל preferable (= he spares not).
17. גִּיאֹת is correctly given by the LXX. (τῶν βουνῶν) as גִּיאֹת, sing. גִּיא = hill,—“the hills are wrapped up in smoke.”

X.

1. Read חֲקִי אֲנִי וּמִכְתָּבִי “Woe unto those who decree decrees of falsehood and who write documents of iniquity.”
3. עֵל. Read אֵל.
- 4 is very obscure. Lagarde's conjecture בִּלְתִּי כֹרַעַת חֵת אֶסִּיר *Beelthith (the goddess) sinks, Osiris is shaken*) is more ingenious than valuable. (See also Cheyne's Comm. II., 135). I believe the verse to have been purposely altered

by the scribes, the original reading having been : מִלְכָּךְ יִכְרַע תַּחַת אֲשׁוּר : *Thy king shall kneel under Ashur, and beneath his sword shall thy slain ones fall.*

VI.

Isaiah's inaugural prophecy.

1. It is a noticeable feature in Isaiah that the name יְהוָה is so often written אֲדֹנָי, which, I think, only gives proof of the frequent copying of the book by writers who were scrupulous in regard to the Holy Name.
2. Supply the word לְאַחֵר after שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפִים the first time.
5. 'The last part of the verse has been purposely misplaced. Read, וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי לִי כִי נִדְמִיתִי כִי אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת רָאוּ עֵינַי
11. תִּשָּׂאָה. Read, in accordance with LXX., תִּשָּׂאָר "the earth shall be left barren."
13. זֶרַע קִדְשׁ מִצְבָּתָה. These last words are missing in LXX. Are they a late addition?

VII.

This chapter is written by a pupil of Isaiah. He is spoken of in the 3d person.

1. וְלֹא יָכֹל. Read, with LXX., וְלֹא יָכֹל, and they could not.
 2. נָחָת אֲרָם עַל אֶפְרַיִם. Read, נָחָת אֲרָם אֶל אֶפְרַיִם down went Aram to Ephraim, viz., to join in warfare against Judah.
 - 3 shows the son of Isaiah, by the name of יִשְׂאָר יָשׁוּב, to be already grown up, whereas, in ch. x., the name יִשׂאָר יָשׁוּב appears as a symbolic one, just given to him by the prophet. Ch. x. thus proves to be of older date than ch. vii.
 4. The words רָצִין וָאֲרָם וּבֶן רַמְלִיָּהוּ and בַּחֲרֵי אֵף are glosses, and must be stricken out. רָצִין וָאֲרָם belong to verse 5, and offer a better reading for אֲרָם.
 6. וְנִתְּצָנָה. Lagarde suggests to read וְנִתְּצָנָה and let us set it on fire.
 - 8-9 b is a marginal note, probably belonging to verse 20. The continuation of verse 7 is verse 9 c where כִּי is to be changed into בִּי : "If you do not have faith in me, ye shall not stand fast,"—אִם לֹא תִאֱמִינוּ בִּי לֹא תִאֱמָנוּ.
 10. וְיוֹסֵף יְהוָה דָּבָר. Here the words יִשְׁעֵיהֶוָה אֶל דְּבַר אֵל have been omitted by oversight. "And Jehovah continued saying to Isaiah, Go, speak to Ahaz."
 11. שְׂאֵלָה. Read שְׂאֵלָה, unto Sheol. So many old versions and comm.
 - 13-16 belong elsewhere, connecting rather with viii., 5-10. By no means can the words of the prophet be a rejoinder to Ahaz, who had just before refused to ask for a sign. Besides, it is the whole house of David who is addressed. 21 and 22 form part of the same "Emanuel" Prophecy, while verses 17-20 and 23-25 are prophecies predicting Assyria's invasion into Judea.
- The explanatory words אֶת מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר, in 17, and בְּמֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר, in 20, are glosses and probably also 25 a, b.

VIII.

Written by Isaiah himself.

1. **בחרט אנוש** is probably to be read **אָנושׁ** "sharp, deep-striking chisel."
4. **יִשָּׂא**. Read **יִשָּׂאֵן** *they will carry off*.
The "Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz" prophecy is not given here; only in x., 6, allusion is made to it, but at a much later time.
6. **רָצִין וּבֶן רַמְלִיּוֹ**. LXX. have **הַמֶּלֶךְ עֲלֵיכֶם**. I suspect the original reading was **אֶת יַרְדֵּן וְאַמְנָה**. The people despise the slow waters of Siloah, and want to rejoice with Jordan and Amana, the great rivers of Samaria and Syria. The names of both kings formed originally but a marginal note, and were afterwards put into the text instead.
7. **את מלך אשור ואת כל כבודו**. These words are an explanatory gloss.
8. **ארצך**. Read **ארצם** *their* (Syria's and Judea's) *land*.
The following **עֲמָנוּ אֵל** connects with the following two verses, which form part of the Emanuel Prophecy (vii., 13-16), but are left in a mere fragmentary state. In their present connection they are certainly not in their right place, as the preceding and succeeding passages threaten Israel and Judah with Assur's invasion, whereas the Emanuel prophecy predicts a speedy relief from Assur.
9. **רעו**. LXX. read **דָּעוּ** *know*; hardly correct. **רוע** from **רוע** *make noise*, viz., "Blow the war-trumpet, yet be seized with fear (**וְחִתּוֹ**)."
- 11-20 connect with 8.
12. **קֹדֶשׁ . . . קֹדֶשׁ**. Read, with Lagarde and others, **קֹדֶשׁ**, "Do not call *holy* all that this people call holy."
14. **לִמְקֹדֶשׁ**. Read **לְמֹקֶשׁ** *for a snare*. The alteration is obviously an intentional one, on euphemistic grounds. Cf. LXX., which have **לֹא** added to **לֹאֲבֵן נֶגֶף** "and not a stumbling-block."
15. **בָּם** is likewise altered. Read **בּוֹ** *through Him*. The meaning is, "through false prophecies the people will be ensnared into ruin."
- 20 is obscure and in a fragmentary state.
The children to whom the prophet refers in 18 are, no doubt, besides Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz, Shear-Jashub and Emanu-El. To the two former allusion is made in ch. x., 5-23.

X.

6. **וּמַטֵּה הוּא בִּירָם**. Read **וּמַטֵּה בְּיוֹם זַעְמִי** *and staff on the day of my wrath*.
7-11 have undergone considerable changes at the hand of the scribes, as can be learned from a careful comparison of our passage with the historical narrative (Isaiah xxxvi., 18 and xxxvii., 12, 13, 23, 24, and 2 Kings xviii. and xix.). Assyria's general declared his warfare to be as much against Jehovah, Israel's God, as against the people, the Deity being always identified with

the nation. This is what Isaiah is speaking against. I have no doubt the original read thus :

7. כִּי לְהַשְׁמִיד עִם וְאֱלֹהִים בְּלִבּוֹ וּלְהַכְרִית גּוֹיִם לֹא מַעַט (גּוֹי וּמַלְכוֹ)
8. כִּי יֹאמֶר הָלֹא הִשְׁמַדְתִּי גּוֹיִם וְאֱלֹהֵיהֶם יַחְדָּיו : (וְאֱלֹהֵיו)
10. כַּאֲשֶׁר מִצָּאָה יָדִי לְמַמְלַכֶּת הָאֵלֶּה וְאֱלֹהֵיהֶם בֵּין אֲשֶׁמִּיד גּוֹי וְאֱלֹהִים מִירוּשָׁלַם וּמִשְׁמֶרֶן :

הָלֹא כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לְשֶׁמֶרֶן וְלֵאלֹהֵיהָ בֵּין אֶעֱשֶׂה לִירוּשָׁלַם וְלֵאלֹהֵיהָ :

Translation :—“ But he doth not think thus, and his heart does not reckon thus : For to destroy people and their deity is in his heart and to cut off nations not a few (nation and its king) (God).

For he says : Have I not destroyed peoples and their gods together ?

Is not Calno as Carchemish ? Is not Chamath as Arpad ? Or is not Samaria as Damascus ?

As my hand hath reached those kingdoms and their gods, thus I shall destroy people and the deity from Jerusalem and Samaria.

Truly, as I did unto Samaria and her god, thus I shall do unto Jerusalem and her God.”

These blasphemous words sounded too hard even in the mouth of the heathen, and were therefore changed ; but they present the real case only in the form restored here. And to judge from the historical narrative in the passages quoted above, they had actually been uttered thus by Rabshakeh.

12. פִּרִי. “ The fruit of the high spirit of the king of Assur ” is hardly correct, nor is “ the glory of his haughtiness ” (תִּפְאָרֶת) the object of God’s visitation. Read שִׁפְתֵּי *the language* and הִתְפַּאֲרוּת *the boasting*.

13. וְעִתִּדוֹתֵיהֶם. Read וּמִצֻּרוֹתֵיהֶם “ and their fortresses I plunder,” and instead of וּכְאֹבִיר, read בְּעָפָר יוֹשְׁבֵיהֶם “ and I shall put down into the dust their occupants.”

14. וּמִצְפָּצָף is only a variant reading for וּפּוֹצֵה פֶּה.

15. כִּי יִנֵּף שִׁבְטֵי אֶת מְרִמּוֹ כִּי יָרִים מַטֵּה לֹו־עֵץ. Read כִּהְנִיף... לֹא עֵץ, and translate, “ Shall the staff swing the one who lifts it ? Shall the rod lift him to whom the wood belongs ? ”

16. יִקְרַי יִקְרַי. Read יִקְדָּקֵד, as one word (cf. לַחֲפֵר-פֶּרֶת, etc.).

18. Read, in accordance with the text offered by LXX., וְהָיָה בְּמָסוֹם הַמָּסִים *and it shall be as wax that melts before the fire of the flame*.

19. עֵץ יַעֲרֹ is a gloss, and not given in LXX.

21. שֹׁאֵר יִשׁוּב is also a marginal note not rendered in LXX. The rest of the verse belongs to the preceding one, and is the responding parallel, if, instead of עַל, אֵל is read,—“ The rest of Jacob leans upon the mighty God.” Still it is very likely that the passage before us (16–23) is rather directed against Israel and Judah than against Assyria, and connects with xxviii. Cf. 23 in

our chapter with 22 there. Particularly is this view supported by 22, here compared with xxviii., 18, 19.

22. **בו כליון**. Read **מכליון** “Even should Israel thy people be as numerous as the sand of the sea, a remnant only will return from the certain destruction, the sweeping storm of justice.” If the view expressed here be correct, the words **עין יערן**, omitted in LXX. (verse 19), are probably only a substitute for Israel (**ישראל**). The name of Shear-Jashub was then not a sign of comfort, but a threat, a prediction of evil, and the giving of that name has, then, probably been purposely omitted.

- 24-26. Here is the continuation of the prophecy against Assur (5-15). The latter half of the verse, however, belongs after 25. Read thus, after Luzzato's suggestion : **אל תירא עמי יושב ציון מאשור כי עוד מעט מוער וכלה ועמי** : **אל תירא עמי יושב ציון מאשור כי עוד מעט מוער וכלה ועמי**. Translate:—

“Fear not my people, inhabitant of Zion, from Assur,
For yet a very little while and my anger will cease,
And my wrath against the world shall be at an end.
He would smite thee with the rod,
And swing his staff over thee on the road towards Egypt;
But Yahweh Ts’bhaoth shall brandish over him a scourge,
As at the smiting of Midian at the rock of Oreb,
And (read **והטהו**) shall drive him toward the sea,
And carry him on the road of Egypt.

27. **וחבל עול מפני שמן** are marginal glosses.

33. **במעצרה**. Read **במעצרה** with the axe.

34. **באדיר**. Read **בארזיו** with his cedars.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON GENESIS I., 1, and XXIV., 14.

By REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M. A.,

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1. On the Rendering of Genesis I., 1.

“In the beginning Elohim fashioned the heaven and the earth. Now the earth was waste and wild, and darkness was upon the face of the flood, and the breath of God [a naïve popular phrase for ‘the divine energy’] was brooding over the face of the waters. And Elohim said, Let light be; and light was.”

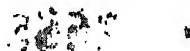
The first verse is the introduction to the story of creation. It was rendered necessary by the frequent adoption or retention of phraseology of mythic affinities, phraseology which needed to be guarded against misapprehension. **בראשית** has no reference to the order of the works of creation; Tuch has already referred to the Peshito version of *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, John I., 1; cf. also **מֵרֵאשִׁית** *from the beginning* (of a historical period), Isa. XLVI., 10. It has been objected to the view here taken of verse 1, that the special introductory formula of the class of narratives known as Elohistic is **אלה תולדות**. But we find this very formula, used retrospectively, at the end of the section (II., 4 a), for which the author doubtless had his reasons. Verse 2 is, of course, a “circumstantial clause” (*Zustand*, or *Umstandssatz*), a phrase no longer unfamiliar even to purely English readers. It describes the condition of primeval matter at the moment when Elohim said, Let light be.

Followers of Ewald will call this exposition half-hearted; there was a time when I should have done so too. There is no grammatical objection to the rendering adopted from Rashi by Ewald, “In the beginning, when Elohim made the heaven and the earth (and the earth was then a chaos), Elohim said, Let there be light.” Similar constructions occur elsewhere in the simplest narratives, and particularly at the beginning of new sections; see Gen. II., 4-7; V., 1, 2; Num. V., 12-15; Josh. III., 14-16; 1 Sam. III., 2-4; 1 Kgs. VIII., 41-43; Isa. LXIV., 1-4. It is more natural, however, to make verse 1 an independent sentence. (1) The cosmogony needs a heading, and II., 4 a, would not read easily before I., 1 (where Knobel and Schrader would place it). (2) The narrative of the next section begins in the same way, with a circumstantial clause (II., 4 b, 5, 6) which is followed by the clause relating the event (II., 7, corresponding to I., 3). Those who regard the whole of II., 4, as belonging to the second narrative section will go further, and point out (3) that we thus obtain a heading for the second section exactly corresponding to I., 1. I follow K. H. Graf, whose remarks near the beginning of his paper on the so-called *Grundschrift* (*Archiv... des Alten Testaments*, 1869, p. 470) have scarcely been sufficiently attended to. It may be worth noting that Ibn Ezra, who held a view of Gen. I., 1-13, somewhat analogous to

Rashi's ("When, in the beginning, Elohim made heaven and earth, the earth was," etc.), seems to have abandoned this in his later writings. See Friedländer, *Essays on Ibn Ezra*, 1877, p. 5.

2. On Genesis XXIV., 14 (נַעֲרָה).

Knobel and Dillmann (*ad loc.*) simply say, "נַעֲרָה stands in the Pentateuch for a girl, consequently instead of נַעֲרָה (here and in verses 16, 29, 55, 57; xxxiv., 8, 12; Deut. xxii., 15-29; also Ruth ii., 21.)" Delitzsch objects to the last reference, however. Lagarde considers the feminine use of נַעֲרָה as an Aramaism. Schrader (in his edition of De Wette's *Einleitung*, p. 87), considers that the use of נַעֲרָה for "a girl" is an archaism in certain passages only, while in other places it is due to the archaizing hand of an editor. Delitzsch (*Luthardt's Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 399) remarks that "in any case נַעֲרָה = נַעֲרָה is an archaism not to be gainsaid from the point of view of the history of language. We know it simply from the existing form of the Pentateuch text; in the Samaritan Pentateuch it is removed in all the twenty-one passages. It resembles the archaism הָוָה = הָוָה in this respect, that we have no other ancient record which attests it. Must we not, therefore, hold that the use of הָוָה for both sexes indifferently (in spite of the already existent feminine form) is not a mere invention?" However we may decide the difficult question as to the use of הָוָה, I see no difficulty in assuming that נַעֲרָה is of late coinage, or at any rate that, as in Arabic parallels, the feminine form was not recognized by choicer writers. Cf. the use of "maidens" in early English for knights as well as dames.



A NOTE ON THE RELATIVE (אֲשֶׁר).

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The suggestion that אֲשֶׁר is the construct of a substantive corresponding to the Assyrian asru and Aramaic אַתְר is not due to Dr. Hommel, as is supposed in *HEBRAICA*, April, 1885, but is to be found in Mührlau & Volck's *Hebrew Lexicon*, and had been previously made by myself in my *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* (1872). I there supported it by the analogy of the Chinese, where so *place* has become a relative pronoun. The chief argument in its favor is this:—

The Assyrian asru and Aramaic 'athār imply that Hebrew also once possessed a substantive אֲשֶׁר, meaning "place," and the most probable cause which can be assigned for its apparent disappearance is that it came to be used with another signification. Prof. Brown's etymology is phonetically inadmissible. He would find it hard to produce any other instances of a "pleonastic" *r* at the end of a word either in Hebrew or in any other language where the trilled *r* is pronounced, while the prosthetic vowel in Hebrew presupposes a double consonant at the beginning of a word. The Phœnician relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר is אִישׁ, which is already written אֲשֶׁר in the Siloam inscription.

MODERN IDEAS IN HEBREW.

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In order to express modern ideas in the Hebrew language, three methods are employed: new forms are made from old roots, or two words expressing the idea are united, or (thirdly) the new word is transliterated. These three methods are illustrated in the words used for the implements, etc., of smoking; "to smoke" is עָשַׁן, a P'ēl formation from the noun עָשָׁן *smoke*; "tobacco" is טַבַּאק (Tā'bā'q); "tobacco-pipe" is מַעֲלֵה עָשָׁן *raiser of smoke*.

To the first method belongs also the specialization of meanings. Thus, in the Talmud P'sāhīm, 37 a, we find דְּפוּם (Greek *τύπος*) in the meaning of "form;" this has, in modern Hebrew, been specialized to mean "printer's form," hence "the art of printing," and, finally, "printing establishment." This forms a Niph'al דָּפַס *it was printed*, a Hiph'il הִדְפִּים *he has printed*, and from this a Participle מְדַפֵּס *a printer*. The "veredarius" of the Romans, בַּר־דָּנָר, corrupted into בִּי־דָרָר, gives us the word for "post-office."

As a model for the union of two words, the European languages are often followed. Thus we have מַסְלִיל בְּרִזֵּל (German *Eisenbahn*) *railroad*; יַיִן שָׂרָה (German *Branntwein*) *brandy*; מִכְתָּב־עֵת (German *Zeitschrift*) *newspaper, magazine*. In other ideas, the combination is original, often curiously formed; thus כַּף פָּרוֹר (pot-spoon) *pot-ladle*, מוֹצִיא לָאוֹר (bringer-forth to light) *publisher, editor*; סֵדֶר אוֹתִיּוֹת (P'ēl from סָדַר *to arrange letters*) *to set type*, מְסַדֵּר אוֹתִיּוֹת *a compositor*, אֶבֶק־אֵשׁ (fire-dust) *gunpowder*; קֶנֶה שִׁרְפָה (burning-rod) *fire-arm*.

Words which have one form for all the modern languages, as the most recent inventions, or the latest investigated maladies, are transliterated. It formerly was the fashion to do this in such a manner that the resulting form should be two-Hebrew words expressing about the same idea; as a result, we still have חוֹלִי־רַע (a bad sickness) for "cholera," and the *Hammagid*, a Hebrew weekly published in Lyk, Prussia, calls the "telegraph" דִּלּוֹן־רַב (great leaper). But the best and most accepted way is to transliterate these words, as טֵלֶעֶגְרָאף (which, by the way, can be regularly conjugated, טֵלִיגְרָפָה, טֵלִיגְרָפוֹ), likewise טֵלֶעֶפּוֹן (telephone), רִינָאמִיט (dynamite), etc. Often the Arabic method is followed, and we have both קַהוּה and קָאוּה for "coffee," טֵעַ and טָהַעַע for "tea." נּוּמָאנִיָּא or פְּנִימִיָּא would perhaps be used for "pneumonia."

SUGGESTIONS TOWARD A MORE EXACT NOMENCLATURE AND DEFINITION OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

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With the recent translations of the works of Ewald and Müller on general Hebrew syntax, and the excellent monograph of Professor Driver on the Use of the Tenses, the beginner cannot complain of lack of efficient help at the most difficult point of the language. Still it must be confessed that the subject has not yet been wholly freed from perplexity, and that portions of it are still enveloped in that "luminous haze" which Ewald so often substituted for dry light. We venture, therefore, with much diffidence, to offer for the criticism of scholars a tentative scheme of nomenclature and definition of the Hebrew Tenses, with some remarks in explanation. We would present the doctrine of the tenses to the beginner in Hebrew grammar somewhat as follows:

There are in Hebrew two tenses, the *Aorist* and the *Subsequent*.

I. The Aorist Tense expresses the mere predication of a fact. It asserts the occurrence of the action signified by the verb, without connotation of the time of that occurrence.

1. But since most facts are now past, the proper translation of this tense in English will oftenest be our Preterite; e. g., בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים *God created*, Gen. I., 1.

2. Very frequently the translation will be our Perfect; e. g., נָתַתִּי *I have given*, Gen. I., 29.

3. Occasionally the translation will be our Pluperfect; e. g., אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה *which he had made*, Gen. II., 2.

4. When the verb signifies an action or state likely to be present, the presumption is that the speaker refers to the present. The translation then is our Present; e. g., לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not*, Gen. IV., 9; יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ *Jehovah reigns*, Ps. XCIII., 1. (But the context may show that the past is meant, and then the same verbal forms must be rendered by Preterites, etc.)

5. General truths are expressed by the Aorist, and rendered by the English Present; e. g., יָבֵשׁ חֲצִיר *the grass withereth*, Isa. XL., 7.

6. When a future occurrence is regarded as so certain that it may be predicated as a fact, the Hebrew uses the Aorist, but the English translation may require the Future or Present; e. g., מָכְרָה נָעֲמִי *Naomi selleth*, Ruth IV., 3.

7. The Aorist may be used where the most precise English expression is the Future Perfect; e. g., עַד יֵלְדָה *until she shall have borne*, Mic. V., 2.

II. The Subsequent Tense connotes the act predicated as following upon or arising out of a known act or situation of affairs.

1. In independent sentences the act will oftenest be understood to be subsequent to the speaker's present, i. e., future. In such sentences it is exactly rendered by the English Future; e. g., *יִמְשֹׁלְכָּךְ* *he shall rule over thee*, Gen. III., 16.

2. Often, however, the action must be understood to supervene immediately upon the existing situation. The Subsequent Tense is then a vivid Present, and must be rendered by the English Present; e. g., *יִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת* *the floods lift up*, Ps. xciii., 3.

3. When by means of the adverbs of time or place *אָז*, *טָרַם*, *מִשָּׁם*, or in any other manner, a date, starting point, or scene of action, has been indicated, the Subsequent Tense connotes the action as following after or occurring upon such point or scene; e. g., *טָרַם יְהִיָּה* *it was not yet*, Gen. II., 5; *מִשָּׁם יִפָּרֵד* *from thence it was parted*, Gen. II., 10; *יּוֹם אֲוִלָּדִי* *the day I was born*, Job III., 3. The proper translation here will often be one of the English past tenses.

4. From the idea of supervention, the transition is easy to that of liability to occur, and thus to repetition. Accordingly, the Subsequent Tense is used in predicating customary actions; e. g., *אֲדָר יַעֲלֶה* *a mist used to go up*, Gen. II., 6.

5. By a very natural extension the Subsequent Tense is employed to express the Subjunctive Mood, and also the Optative and Potential. It is thus used in wishes, permissions and commands; e. g., *יְהִי אֹר* *let there be light*, Gen. I., 3.

III. The Tenses with Waw Conversive.

1. When joined by Waw Conversive to a preceding predication (or idea), the Subsequent Tense connotes an action as supervenient upon or arising out of that foregoing action.

2. When joined by Waw Conversive to a preceding Subsequent Tense (or idea), the Aorist falls into the temporal and modal limitations of that foregoing predication.

In justification of this scheme, and upon the subject in general, we make the following somewhat disjointed remarks, or rather memoranda:

1. This is but a sketch. Many important usages are not mentioned; but we think that they may be appropriately classed under the several heads and definitions.

2. The old names of the tenses—*past* and *future*—were after all nearer to the truth than *perfect* and *imperfect*. The Subsequent is a future, only future to any assigned date, not merely to the speaker's present. The name Aorist exactly fits that Hebrew tense. In Greek the Aorist Indicative is *limited* to the past; but in Hebrew the Aorist is truly unlimited except by the possibilities of reality.

3. The application of the term *moods* to the Hebrew tenses is an abuse of a useful word of fixed meaning, as necessary in that meaning to Hebrew grammar as to any grammar. The distinction of the two Hebrew forms is a true *tense* distinction.

4. The Perfect is often defined as connoting "finished" or "completed" action. These words are misleading. They can only fairly be used to mean action viewed comprehensively, as in the Greek Aorist, not *now* completed, as in the Greek Perfect.

5. The grammarians have great difficulty with the numerous cases in which the Hebrew Perfect must be rendered as equivalent to an English Present. They explain that the *consequences* of the finished act continue to the present. But making the most of such classic parallels as *oïda* and *memini*, the explanation fails for a host of cases; e. g., *אֲנִי קָטָן* *I am little*, Gen. xxxii., 11.

6. It is a mistaken analogy to compare the Hebrew Perfect, when used in general truths, with the Greek Gnostic Aorist. In Greek there is a reference to past experience. In Hebrew there is no evidence of such a reference.

7. The difference between the Hebrew Aorist and Subsequent is not at all the same as that between the Greek Aorist and Imperfect. Only incidentally, by the extension of the usage of the Hebrew tense to connote customary acts, does that language reach the power to express the distinction.

8. It appears a confusion to define a tense as *inceptive*, and then name it the *Imperfect*. An Inceptive Imperfect which expresses the *future* is a grammatical jumble.

9. We believe that all that Ewald and Driver so laboriously set forth regarding "incipiency," "nascency" and "progressive continuance," may be fairly reduced to the simple idea of *subsequence*.

10. It appears that the *conversion* after strong Waw is rather of the English translation. The Subsequent is by strong Waw only made more distinctly subsequent to the preceding verb, and the Aorist falls under the limitations already expressed.

➤EDITORIAL NOTES.◀

The Second Volume.—With this number *HEBRAICA* enters upon its second volume. The variety and value of the material furnished ought, we think, to commend the Journal to all who are interested in Semitic studies.

We venture the assertion that no single Semitic publication of the same size has ever contained contributions from so many representative Semitic scholars. There is something encouraging in this. It means that Semitic scholars are at work, and that they are interested in an undertaking whose purpose it is to incite others to work.

When it seemed doubtful whether another volume of *HEBRAICA* would be published, many letters were received in which the strong hope was expressed that it might be continued. The managing editor, after much debate, concluded to undertake the second volume. And now, will not those who declared themselves interested in its success lend a hand in making it such? What is needed? About four hundred additional subscribers. Is there not something which all who have at heart the interests of Hebrew study can and *will* do to secure these subscribers? The Journal will improve with each succeeding number, if its friends will but help and encourage it. *Now* is the time. The fact is, it is *now* or *never*. Shall it not be *now*?

Proof-reading.—The readers of *HEBRAICA* cannot but be aware of the extreme difficulty attending the setting up of the type and the reading of the proof of the articles and notes which make up each number. In the present number there will be found, for example, words, sentences, or paragraphs in ten different languages, in five different alphabets, in which there are used ten distinct fonts of type. For use in transliteration there are, besides these, numerous special letters. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if occasionally there shall be discovered slight errors. Yet, according to the testimony of those who are able to judge of such matters, the Journal has been singularly free from typographical errors. This is due, in large measure, to the efficient help rendered by the Rev. John W. Payne, of which the Editor takes this opportunity of making a public acknowledgment.

As the Journal becomes older and better established, and as the facilities for work are improved, it is hoped that, so far as mechanical execution is concerned, it may be made more and more perfect.

An Important Help for the Study of Assyrian.—Semitic students will be interested in the publication of an *Assyrian Manual*, by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard College, which, but for an unavoidable delay, would now be ready. Of the

importance of the Assyrian language for the Semitic study, and especially for the study of the Old Testament, words too strong could scarcely be employed. But the difficulties in the way have been until recently well-nigh insurmountable. Until the authorities of Union Theological Seminary, of Harvard and Johns Hopkins Universities and the Episcopal Seminary in Philadelphia, made it possible to pursue the study at those institutions, one was forced to go abroad in order to learn Assyrian. The great expense, and other difficulties, left the privilege to but few. Happily, now a rapid change is taking place. The institutions above named, and the list will be enlarged yearly, offer facilities not inferior to those found at the German universities. But there are many eager American students so situated that they cannot attend the American schools. What are these to do? Many of them finished their college, seminary, or university courses before Assyrian study came to the front. They are now active teachers and pastors.

For such persons several courses are possible. If familiar with the German language, they can use Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestuecke*, of which a third and greatly improved edition has recently appeared. This book contains a short lexicon of the most common Assyrian words, two pages of transliterated text, with translation and notes, and should by all means be the constant companion of every student of the language. The fact that it is written in German will unfortunately close its pages for some, and others will find the way hardly sufficiently prepared. While the whole work is intended to be elementary, experience in America has shown that a better method may be employed. Every Assyrian text-book for beginners must aim to reach the same goal that Professor Delitzsch has in view. The question is, Can it be reached by shorter, and easier methods?

The answer to this question, it is confidently believed, will be found in Prof. Lyon's *Assyrian Manual*. The fundamental idea in this work is that the language is to be acquired, not by first burdening the memory with the cuneiform characters, but by a large use of transliterated texts. The tests which have been made at Harvard University, and in the Hebrew Summer Schools, have demonstrated the value of this idea. It will be argued that one who learns the language by the aid of transliterated texts can never be sure of the correctness of the transliteration. Be it so. There are scores of intelligent pastors who cannot hope to become Assyrian workers, but who wish to be able to form an opinion on the utterances of those who are. There are teachers of Hebrew who can learn, for comparative purposes, all that is known of Assyrian grammar and vocabulary without committing the cuneiform signs to memory. It cannot be too often urged that the Assyrian language, like all language, lies in the sound, not in the signs representing those sounds.

But while Prof. Lyon's *Assyrian Manual* makes it possible to learn the language without learning the written characters, the method does not contem

plate such a course. A nearly complete list of the syllabic characters (several hundred in number) is given, and also several pages of cuneiform text accompanied by transliteration and translation, and still others accompanied by neither. The student should first take the transliterated passage which is translated, and master it. He can also set himself a daily task of a few signs to be learned, and can practice what he thus daily learns, and what he learns from the transliterated passage, by turning to the cuneiform original of that passage. With or without this work on the original signs, all the other transliterated passages, filling forty-one pages, are open to him. These are almost exclusively from the historical records of Tiglathpileser I., Assurnazirpal, Shalmaneser II., Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, Nabonidus and Cyrus. The originals of nearly all these passages are easily accessible. There is no better way of learning the cuneiform signs than by reading the originals in connection with a transliteration. By such a course there is not a three-fold effort of the mind, first to recall the sign, second to decide on its connection, and then to discover the meaning of the word; but the whole effort may be directed to the task of impressing on the mind those signs not already familiar. Many of these selections in the *Manual*, in addition to their linguistic value, are of the greatest historical and religious interest. The passages in cuneiform are from Assurbanipal's Egyptian wars, from the Babylonian story of the deluge, from Ishtar's descent to Hades, and from the account of creation.

The *Assyrian Manual* will also contain the necessary grammatical paradigms, notes on the reading selections, and a glossary of all the Assyrian words. It is believed that the book will thus be so furnished as to meet the needs of beginners in the language, and to ease very greatly their task.

While the teacher's place can never be filled by any book, it is believed that those who wish to know Assyrian, but who cannot have a teacher, will find in the method of the *Assyrian Manual* that the greatest difficulty is removed.

Other Semitic Helps.—The announcement, elsewhere, of an Arabic Manual by Prof. John G. Lansing, D. D., of New Brunswick, N. J., and of a Syriac Manual by Prof. R. D. Wilson of Allegheny City, Pa., will be of interest to all Semitic students. The plan of these books agrees in general with that of the *Assyrian Manual* spoken of above. One great reason why there have been so few American students to engage in these studies is the fact that there have been no practical text-books for beginners. The series, now proposed, including Prof. Charles R. Brown's Aramaic Method, of which the second part is soon to appear, will supply a want experienced by many, and, at the same time, incite others to undertake similar work.

➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

[Any publication noticed in these pages may be obtained of the AMERICAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF HEBREW, Morgan Park, Ill.]

DR. SOCIN'S ARABIC GRAMMAR.*

This is a new edition of Petermann's Elementary Arabic Grammar, brought out by Dr. Socin, translated into English by Drs. Stenhouse and Brünnow, formerly pupils of Dr. Socin.

There is great need for a new Arabic Grammar, but there is no need for such an Arabic Grammar as this one. There is great need for an Arabic Grammar midway between Wright, Palmer, and others, on the one hand, and Faris, Bagster, and others, on the other hand; a Grammar clear, concise, sufficient, without taking the place of Wright's, and without degenerating to the other extreme. To meet this need, Dr. Socin's Grammar is largely a failure, because of its confusions, omissions, and errors.

It would be a difficult task to enumerate the faults which appear on many pages of this Grammar. A few specimens may be given.

Dr. Socin tells us that *waw* is pronounced as *alif* in the word حَيوة^٥ and a few other words, excepting when these words have suffixes. This is not the only exception. There are only two other words where the *waw* is pronounced as *alif*. Why were they not given?

In speaking of the elision of connective *alif* under the orthographic sign *Wasla*, Dr. Socin speaks of this elision as taking place with the article and with two words, the words for "son" and "name." Two of the most important places in which this elision occurs are never mentioned. Besides, instead of there being only two words, there are nine words, or rather nouns, in connection with which this elision takes place.

Dr. Socin speaks of long and short syllables, instead of pure and mixed syllables with long and short vowels, etc. He says, "A short syllable consists of a consonant with a short vowel." And "A long syllable of a consonant and a long vowel," etc. That is not a definition of the Arabic syllable. Both of the above cases are included under the pure syllables; while the mixed syllables include the diphthong, and that composed of two consonants when the closing consonant has *sukoon* or *tashdeed*.

* ARABIC GRAMMAR, PARADIGMS, LITERATURE, CHRESTOMATHY AND GLOSSARY. By Dr. A. Socin, Professor in the University of Tuebingen. Carlsruhe and Leipzig: H. Reuther. Pp. xvi, 294. Price, \$2.60.

Dr. Socin leaves the three short vowels,—of such great importance in the language,—with a bare mention. He has almost nothing to say about the peculiarities of the letters. He has nothing to say about the Pause. He does not treat of the Article at all. A person would not know there was any Article except as it is incidentally mentioned. Dr. Socin writes the dual of the Relative Pronoun defectively, when only the singular and the masculine plural are written defectively, on account of their frequent occurrence.

He classifies ^{אֵי}אֵי as a relative pronoun, when it is an interrogative pronoun; and he declines the interrogative ^{מֶנְ}מֶנְ, which is rarely declined, while the interrogative ^{אֵי}אֵי, which is declined, he leaves undeclined.

Under the Particles Dr. Socin treats of the Adverbs, Prepositions and Conjunctions. To all this he devotes two small scant pages. He tells us nothing about the kinds of prepositions and adverbs, nothing about their formation, does not give a single definition. He only gives one or two examples of each, and then leaves the subject. Even the examples he gives contain errors. For example, he classifies ^{אֵן}אֵן and ^{אֵן}אֵן as prepositions, and translates ^{אֵי}אֵי “against.”

As to Interjections, Dr. Socin does not seem to be aware that there are any, as they are entirely left out of his Grammar.

The mistakes and omissions upon the Verb are numerous. Only two or three can be noted. He says that the second stem or form of the Verb most usually denotes the causative; whereas the causative signification comes from the intensive, which is the primary and radical signification. He says that the sixth stem or form is reflexive of the third, and that it has a reflexive or reciprocal meaning, e. g., ^{לְ}תִּקְוָלְ to fight one another. This is a mistake. The idea of reciprocity conveyed in the third form, is, in this sixth form, necessarily limited to one of the two parties concerned; so that, if it is said of one ^{לְ}תִּקְוָלְ he fought, the other party to such reciprocal action will become ^{לְ}תִּקְוָלְ fought against; so that the former will have an active sense, while the latter will be passive, but passive only as it is consequent upon the former. Between the seventh and eighth forms Dr. Socin makes no radical difference whatever. But there is such difference: the reflexive pronoun contained in the seventh form is never the indirect, but always the direct object itself, and it never assumes the reciprocal signification. These two points distinguish the seventh form from the eighth. The explanation of the formation of derived forms, moods, etc., is most unsatisfactory and confusing even when touched upon. The treatment of the Weak Verb is the most unsatisfactory part of the Grammar. Several different kinds of weak verbs are never mentioned at all.

The treatment of the Noun is little better than that of the Weak Verb. We are told that nouns are primitive and derived. But he does not tell us whence or how they are derived, and almost nothing about their formation. Some classes of nouns are given; nothing is said of others which come in the same category.

He forms the broken plural of ^٥غُصْنُ a branch upon the measure of ^٥فَعْلَةٌ when it should be upon the measure of ^٥فَعَلَةٌ.

There are numerous errors of translation, as, e. g., عَنْ translated "away from;" ^٥حَمَام translated "a flight of doves."

There are numerous typographical errors, as, e. g., three in a paragraph of two and a half lines.

The omissions are as startling as they are numerous. Two or three definitions, rules, classes, etc., will be given, while others of the same character and equally important will be left out altogether. Conjectural remarks of no practical use to the learner are frequently indulged in, while first essentials are found omitted from almost every page.

As to arrangement the Grammar is confusion worse confounded. A more difficult grammar for the learner, on account of the absence of any system, could scarcely be found in any language.

The Grammar proper numbers about 125 pages. The book numbers over 300 pages. In a volume of half its size it is believed that more material of practical value could have been furnished.

J. G. LANSING,

New Brunswick, N. J.

THIRD EDITION OF DELITZSCH'S ASSYRISCHE LESESTUECKE.*

This book, in its new form, is a great advance on ed. 2, 1878 (ed. 1, 1876). The progress is less in the matter of correction than of addition. The new syllabic values of the signs are comparatively few; but a large number of ideographic values has been added. Nearly all the material of ed. 2 is retained, except the Eponym Canons, which filled pp. 87-94 of that edition. Of additions are three pages of grammatical paradigms, Sennacherib's campaign against Judea transliterated, translated and explained (five pages), the Babylonian equivalents of the signs placed beside the Assyrian form, eleven pages of cuneiform vocabularies (80-90), the cuneiform account of the Deluge (pp. 99-109) of which ed. 2 contained a part, a historical text from Nebuchadnezzar and one from Darius (123-125), a bilingual vocabulary in three columns (126-130) and a dictionary of the most common Assyrian words (137-148), the words being transliterated and the definitions being in German. Beginners will thank the author most for pp. ix-xvi (grammar, transliteration, etc.) and for the dictionary. Other students will thank him most for the full text of the Deluge story and for the convenient collection of additions to syllabaries and vocabularies.

*ASSYRISCHE LESESTUECKE, nach den Originalen theils revidirt, theils zum ersten Male herausgegeben, nebst Paradigmen, Schrifttafel, Textanalyse und kleinem Woerterbuch, zum Selbstunterricht wie zum akademischen Gebrauch, von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Professor der Assyriologie an der Universitaet Leipzig. Dritte durchaus neu bearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1885. Pp. xvi, 148. Price, 35 Marks.

Of typographical errors may be mentioned p. xvi, note to line 72, where one must read 9 for g in II R. 23, g; p. 137, êtû for êtû; p. 140, iĥîṭ for iĥîṭ; p. 147, šikṣu for šikṣu; p. 148, takânu for takânu. On p. 14, no. 100, the syllabic value ta, in col. 3, has been omitted.

What ed. 2 called the Babylonian account of the fall of man, ed. 3 calls Texts about the serpent Tiâmat. This is an improvement. The Babylonians may have had an account of the fall of man; but if so, it still awaits discovery.

Professor Delitzsch is to be congratulated on the great usefulness of past editions of the *Lesestücke*, and on having made edition 3 more indispensable than its predecessors. The book belongs to every Assyrian library.

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❖ HEBRAICA ❖

VOL. II.

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No. 2.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE REVISED VERSION TOWARD THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D. D.,

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The Revision of the so-called Authorized English Version was carried on subject to the following rule respecting the original text: 4. "That the Text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the Text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin." This rule was for the guidance of the Old Testament Company, as well as the New Testament Company. The New Testament Company gave heed to the rule, and adopted the following principles for carrying it into effect:

"A revision of the Greek text was the necessary foundation of our work; but it did not fall within our province to construct a continuous and complete Greek text. In many cases the English rendering was considered to represent correctly either of two competing readings in the Greek, and then the question of the text was usually not raised. A sufficiently laborious task remained in deciding between the rival claims of various readings which might properly affect the translation..... The fourth rule..... was in effect an instruction to follow the authority of documentary evidence without deference to any printed text of modern times, and therefore to employ the best resources of criticism for estimating the value of evidence..... Many places still remain in which, for the present, it would not be safe to accept one reading to the absolute exclusion of others. In these cases we have given alternative readings in the margin, wherever they seem to be of sufficient importance or interest to deserve notice....".

These principles are sound and reliable. The New Testament Company have achieved great success in working them out with conscientious care and painstaking accuracy.

We see no sufficient reasons why the same principles should not have been followed by the Old Testament Companies. A revision of the Hebrew text "was a necessary foundation of their work." They ought to have decided "between the rival claims of various readings which might properly affect the translation."

They were bound by the fourth rule, no less than the New Testament Company, "to follow the authority of documentary evidence without deference to any printed text of modern times;" and to employ "the best resources of criticism for estimating the value of the evidence."

But the Old Testament Company took another view of their duty. They say, "The task of the Revisers has been much simpler than that which the New Testament Company had before them." It has been *simpler*, because they have emptied rule 4 of its meaning. They have not regarded a revision of the Hebrew text as "the necessary foundation of their work." If they had done so, they would have found their task vastly *harder* than that of the New Testament Company. They have simplified their task by neglecting the rule under which they were appointed to make the Revision.

They did not seek a revision of the Hebrew text, but adopted the *Massoretic* text as a *Textus Receptus*. They declined to follow the authority of documentary evidence, but adopted as their foundation the same Hebrew text essentially as that upon which the Revisers of 1611 built. But they fail to tell us what they mean by *Massoretic Textus Receptus*. Ginsburg is of the opinion that "the *editio princeps* of Jacob ben Chajim's Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1525-26)—alone is the authoritative Massoretic edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, as no reliance is to be placed on the successive reprints." If the Revisers had adopted this text as a foundation, they would have given us a definite basis; but when they inform us "with regard to the variations in the Massoretic text itself, the Revisers have endeavored to translate what appeared to them to be the best reading in the text, and where the alternative reading seemed sufficiently probable or important, they have placed it in the margin," we cannot determine whether they mean any more than the variants of the Massora of the Rabbinical Bibles, or whether they mean the variants in the Hebrew manuscripts. They make no reference to documentary authorities in dealing with the Massoretic text; and they give the impression, from their statement and from their work, that they did not seek even a revised Massoretic text. It is well known that the Massoretic text needs thorough revision. Ginsburg has not yet completed his monumental work of collecting and digesting the Massoretic material. He tells us:

"Of all the MSS. which I have collated for the last twenty years for a new edition of the Massorah, and a correct Massoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, I have not found two alike, containing exactly the same Massorah... My experience has shown me that each scribe has selected a larger or smaller quantity of Massoretic materials for the MS. he annotated, corresponding to the sum which he got for doing the work... to edit the Massorah and to compile a glossary of its technicalities, it is absolutely necessary to collate all the accessible biblical MSS."

Baer's revision of the Massoretic text is still far from completion, and far from satisfactory. The Babylonian Codex has been used by him only in part, and other ancient Hebrew MSS. still remain uncollated.

If the Revisers had considered a revised Massoretic text as "the necessary foundation of their work" and had decided between the rival claims of various readings, following the authority of documentary evidence so far as their work of translation required it, after the example of the New Testament Company, they would have rendered an invaluable service to the Christian world. But it appears that they neglected to do even this. They tell us, "The Massoretic text of the Old Testament Scriptures has come down to us in MSS. which are of no very great antiquity, and which all belong to the same family or recension;" and yet they appear not to have weighed the documentary evidence of these MSS., and to have failed to secure a correct Massoretic text of this one recension. They have taken into consideration certain variants in the Massoretic text; but they do not tell us of any standard by which these variants were measured, or of the extent to which the consideration of the variants was carried.

What, then, has the Revision accomplished for the Textual criticism of the Old Testament?

"The Revisers have thought it most prudent to adopt the Massoretic text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it, as the Authorized Translators had done, only in exceptional cases." The Textual criticism is therefore confined to exceptional cases. But in these exceptional cases there is great difference of opinion among the Revisers.

"In some few instances of extreme difficulty a reading has been adopted on the authority of the Ancient Versions, and the departure from the Massoretic text recorded in the margin. In other cases, where the versions appeared to supply a very probable though not so necessary a correction of the text, the text has been left and the variation indicated in the margin only."

The margin contains the greater number of departures from the Massoretic text. The version itself contains very few of them. The American Revisers, however, in their Appendix, assume a different attitude when they say, "Omit from the margin all renderings from the LXX., Vulgate, and other Ancient Versions or 'authorities'," and take exception to several of the very few departures from the Massoretic text contained in the Revision. Dr. Chambers, a member of the American company, defends this attitude on the ground that—

"All these references had in them too much of the uncertain, conjectural and arbitrary, to be entitled to a place in the margin, as if they had some portion of intrinsic authority. We are not sure, in any case, that the makers of these versions did not follow their own notion of what the text ought to be, rather than that which they found in the codices before them. And conjectural emendations are of no value."

Dr. Green, the chairman of the American Old Testament Company, after magnifying the difficulties in the way of the Textual criticism of the Old Testament, and showing how little has been accomplished, says:

"In this condition of affairs, the American Company felt that the best thing to do, in relation to the text, was to do nothing. When competent scholars shall have fully elaborated the problem before them, we shall be prepared to accept their results, so far as they are satisfactorily established. But until they have made it clear that we can, with safety and advantage, depart from the text traditionally preserved with such marvelous care and accuracy, we shall adhere to it as, for the present at least, the best that is attainable, getting along with its hard places as well as we can, and never setting it aside unless from imperative necessity."

We thus have clearly before us three attitudes represented in the Old Testament Company with reference to departures from the Massoretic text: (1) The margin represents the opinion of the more advanced scholars that the Ancient Versions should be used, with some measure of freedom, to ascertain the original Hebrew text; (2) The Revision represents the official opinion of the English Company that, in "instances of extreme difficulty," a reading should be adopted from the Ancient Versions; (3) The American Revisers object to all reference to the Ancient Versions as authorities, and will depart from the Massoretic text only "from imperative necessity."

We shall rise from the consideration of what has been done, to an apprehension of what ought to have been done.

The Massoretic text has the three constituent parts,—consonant text, text pointed with vowels, and accented text. We shall consider these in the reversed order.

(1) The Massoretic system of accentuation was devised partly for the division of the sentences into sections in accordance with the sense, but chiefly for cantillation in the synagogues. There are three distinct systems: (1) The Babylonian, as presented in the most ancient Hebrew MSS. now at St. Petersburg, which give the same system of accents to all the Old Testament Books; (2) The Palestinian system, which is more elaborate and artificial, and which was used for all the books except Psalms, Job and Proverbs; (3) The Palestinian Poetic system, which is more concise, but still more artificial; it is confined to the three books, Psalms, Job and Proverbs. An order of development is shown, in passing from the Babylonian points through the Palestinian prose system to the Palestinian poetic system. But even the Babylonian system shows traces of a long previous development, which was based upon the system of cantillation in the Syriac churches.

"The introduction of these musical signs was, in all probability, simultaneous with that of the vowel signs—an improvement in which, too, the Syrians had led the way. The one notation fixed the traditional *pronunciation* of each word, the other its traditional *modulation*. The two together furnished the needful direction to the Reader for the correct recitation of the sacred text" (Wickes, p. 2).

The earliest MSS. certainly known to us have the Babylonian system. If we had still earlier MSS., we might have a still earlier and simpler system. If

we should go back to the MSS. upon which the Ancient Versions were based, we would find no accents whatever, except the simple divisions such as are to be seen in the Samaritan codex. The English Company, in their Massoretic text, adopt the Palestinian system of accentuation which is found in the Rabbinical Bibles and in the printed editions generally, except in the Complutensian Polyglott.

(a) The American Revisers differ from the English Revisers in Dan. ix., 25. The English Revisers follow the Massoretic accents, and read, "Unto the anointed one, the prince, shall be seven weeks: and three-score and two weeks, it shall be built again," etc. The American Revisers disregard the accents, and read, "Seven weeks, and three-score weeks and two weeks: it shall be," etc. Dr. Green (in *Presbyterian Journal*, June 25) says:

"The most serious alteration, to my mind, in the entire Old Testament, is the famous passage of the seventy weeks, in Dan., ch. ix.... Instead of the semicolon after threescore and two weeks, the text of the Revision punctuates after seven weeks. This is in accordance with the Massoretic interpunction, which, however, in so difficult a prophecy, need not be decisive. It absolutely closes the door to the Messianic interpretation," etc.

This, then, is what Dr. Green regards as an "imperative necessity." The necessity springs from the desire to preserve the "Messianic interpretation." It is not a necessity of documentary evidence, or of the authority of Versions, but purely internal evidence which is offered for the departure from the Massoretic text,—and this of a somewhat slender kind.

Moreover, this change is not necessary for the preservation of the Messianic interpretation. Keil, Kleifoth, and others, adhere to the accents, and yet are firm in their Messianic interpretation. One fails to see any "imperative necessity" for a departure from the text here, such as would be recognized either by the science of Textual criticism, or the rules of Hermeneutics.

Textual criticism has its well defined laws. The three great principles, well nigh universally admitted, are, (1) The reading which lies at the root of all the variations, and best explains them, is to be preferred; (2) The most difficult reading is more likely to be correct; (3) The reading most in accordance with the context, and especially with the style and usage of the author and his times, is to be preferred. These principles were employed by the New Testament Company. Why were they not employed by the Old Testament Company? There is nothing capricious about them. They are well tried, and lead to positive and solid results.

(b) In the matter of the accents, the Revisers do not always follow the documentary authority of the Hebrew manuscripts. They render Ps. xix., 18:

"Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins;
Let them not have dominion over me: then shall I be perfect,
And I shall be clear from great transgression."

The best MSS. divide verse 13 at בִּי by the 'Olèv-jored. The documentary evidence is supported by the internal evidence of the parallelism, which had already influenced Ewald, Hitzig, Bickell, Ley, and others, to arrange—

גם-מזדים חשך עברך אל-ימשלו בי
או איתם ונקיתי מפשע רב

(c) In Isa. LIV., 9, the current Palestinian accentuation is כִּי-מִי נָח (so Baer). But the Babylonian Codex and other Hebrew MSS. read כִּימִי נָח; and these are sustained by the Peshitto, Targum, Vulgate and Saadia. The LXX. reads מִמִּי, which can best be explained as a corruption of כִּימִי, as Delitzsch shows. The passage, Matt. xxiv., 37, also points in the same direction. The external evidence is unusually strong; for it is varied, extensive and harmonious. כִּימִי has the strongest documentary evidence, and is at the root of all the readings, and best explains them all. It is also the more difficult reading; for the scribe would naturally write נָח מִי, in accordance with the next clause. The correct Massoretic text is therefore כִּימִי נָח זֹאת לִי, and the translation should be, "As the days of Noah is this time, when I swear that the waters of the flood should no more go over the earth, so I swear that I will not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee." The margin of the R. V. gives it correctly, but the R. V. itself neglects the documentary evidence in its favor, and the American Revisers would blot the correct reading from the margin.

(d) The Revisers do not correct the Massoretic accents by the Ancient Versions. The Ancient Versions were all made from unaccented MSS. Their readings must be explained. They can be explained only by blotting out the accents from the original text, and then determining, on the principles of Textual criticism, what is the proper divisions of the verses. If this first principle of the Textual criticism of the Old Testament had been followed, and the third law of intrinsic probability had been obeyed, who can doubt that the refrain of Ps. XLII., 5, would have been given correctly? The Massoretic text points: יְשׁוּעַת פָּנָיו; אֱלֹהֵי יְשׁוּעַת פָּנָי וְאֱלֹהֵי, but the original text was certainly יְשׁוּעַת פָּנָי וְאֱלֹהֵי.

Here again the margin gives the correction; the R. V. itself does not obey the laws of Textual criticism, but adheres to the Massoretic text in spite of them; and the American Revisers would remove the correct reading from the margin.

(e) The chief mistakes of the points are in the parallelism of Hebrew Poetry. We have already given a number of examples of this in the *Presbyterian Review* (July, '85). We shall confine ourselves here to a single example.

Psalm CXLIV. is made up of two distinct psalms. It is noteworthy that the Revisers give a space between the two pieces, after verse 11. The difference is more distinct in Hebrew, owing to the rhythmical movement; verses 1-11 are trim-

* We insert the Maqqeph in accordance with the requirements of the rhythm, here and elsewhere, and disregard the Maqqeph of the Massoretic system, which were employed for purposes of cantillation. The lines are pentameters, composed of 3+2, or 2+3 accented words.

eters, but verses 12-15 are pentameters. The parallelisms of the Revisers show the increased length of the lines in verses 12, 13; but in verses 14, 15 they are misled by the accents, and miss the rhythm. Cheyne (*Book of Psalms*, 1884) recognizes the movement, and also sees that the Massoretic text is corrupt in the last half of the fifth line. We venture to insert the rare word צֵן, of Job v., 5, and Prov. xxii., 5, "thorn-hedge," and with the suffix צָנִינו after פָּרִץ. The LXX. implies some such word by its rendering *κατάπτωμα φραγμόν*. Any one can see how easy it would be for a copyist to leave out צֵן or צָנִינו between פָּרִץ and וְאֵין, especially in rapid reading aloud. It is also our opinion that שִׁשְׁכָּה (שִׁשְׁכָּה) is a representative of an older אֶשֶׁר used in the poem. The Revisers make the last four lines into five, thus:

"When our oxen are well laden (two words);
When there is no breaking in, and no going forth (three words),
And no outcry in our streets (three words);
Happy is the people, that is in such a case (four words):
Yea, happy is the people, whose God is the Lord (four words)."

The arrangement should be,

אֶשֶׁר בָּנִינו כְּנִטְעִים מִגְדָּלִים בְּנַעֲוֵרֵיהֶם
בְּנוֹתֵינו כְּזוּיֹת מַחֲטָבוֹת תְּבִנִית הַיֵּכָל
מוֹזֵינו מְלָאִים מִפִּיחִים מִזֶּן אֶל־זֶן
צִאֲנָנו מֵאֲלִפּוֹת מִרְבָּבוֹת בְּחוֹצוֹתֵינו
אֲלוֹפֵינו מִסְבָּלִים אֵין פָּרִץ (צָנִינו)
וְאֵין יוֹצֵאת וְאֵין צוּחָה בְּרַחֲבֵתֵנו
אֲשֶׁר־י הָעָם אֲשֶׁר כָּכָה לוֹ
אֲשֶׁר־י הָעָם אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינו

We would translate:

"When our sons are as plants,—grown up in their youth;
Our daughters as corner-stones,—hewn after the fashion of a palace;
Our garners full,—affording all manner of store;
Our sheep bringing forth thousands—ten thousands in our fields;
Our kine great with young;—there is no breaking in through our thorn-hedges;
And there is no going forth to war,—and no cry of alarm in our streets;
Happy the people,—when it is so to them:
Happy the people—when Jahveh is their god."

(2) The vowel points do not belong to the original text. There are two systems,—the Babylonian and Palestinian, both represented in the MSS. now accessible to Hebrew scholars. They go back upon an earlier and simpler system, like the Arabic and Syriac. The chief Ancient Versions were made from texts without vowel points. The principles of Textual criticism require us, therefore, to build on a text without the points.

(a) The American Revisers agree to the change of points of כְּאֵרִי, Ps. xxii., for they acknowledge that "the Hebrew text, as pointed, reads, *like a lion*," and yet they

propose to strike from the margin the "Sept., Vulg. and Syr.," which support the reading they have adopted. The change of points is sustained by the Versions, but not by documentary authority of Hebrew MSS. The Complutensian text, and a few others, read כֶּאֱרִי. But the ' best accounts for all the facts of the case, and the word, by different points, is capable of the two interpretations. But we cannot see that there is here any "imperative necessity" to depart from the Massoretic points, or even an instance of "extreme difficulty." It is indeed nothing more than "a very probable" correction of the text, such as the English Revisers tell us they would place in the margin.

(b) The American Revisers also consent to the change of the construct מְדַבֵּר into the absolute מְדַבֵּר, in Ps. LXXV., 6, in order to get the rendering of the R. V. "Nor yet from the south cometh lifting up." The margin is "Or, *from the wilderness of mountains*, cometh judgment." There is the documentary evidence of 50 MSS. and Kimchi, for this change; Baer follows them in his text of the Psalms, but the Massoretic MSS. are decidedly for מְדַבֵּר. The LXX., Vulg. and Symm. give "wilderness of mountains," and are against the change. It was more natural for the scribe to point with Qāmēṣ here, as in the two previous words; the construct is the more difficult reading. Two of the three laws of Textual criticism count against the change. Intrinsic probability is rather in its favor. There is no necessity, however, in this case for departing from the A. V., and the Revisers, according to their principles, ought not to have made the change. Cheyne, and De Witt, two of the Revisers, rightly adhere to the Massoretic text, in their versions.

(c) In Hos. VII., 5, the R. V. gives "the princes *made themselves sick* with the heat of wine;" the margin "According to many ancient versions *began to be heated with wine*." The difference is in the pointing. הִחֲלִי or הִחֲלִי. Hitzig rightly says upon this passage, "Since all the ancient versions read הִחֲלִי, and the passage VIII., 10 is a close parallel, we reject the Jewish points, whose sense in other respects is not suited to the context." The margin and the text ought to have changed places. If, now, we turn to VIII., 10, we find that the Revisers reject the A. V. "shall sorrow a little," and placed it in the margin, and render "begin to be minished." In order to this, they follow the usual Massoretic וַיִּחֲלִי (we presume), although they render it as ׀ consecutive of perfect, and they take מַעַט as an infinitive. But the Codices Bab. and Erfurt 3 read וַיִּחֲלִי, and this imperfect with weak waw is sustained by LXX., Symm., Theod., Vulg., and is best suited to the syntactical construction of the context, and מַעַט is an adverb. If we render the verb "begin," and מַעַט as an adverb, it is necessary to regard the clause as pregnant, and supply a verb. None more suitable can be found than those supplied by the LXX. κοπάσουσιν, and Vulg. *quiescent*.

(d) But there are very many passages in which internal evidence calls for a change in the pointing. Thus Ps. L. is a beautiful pentameter of three strophes.

The first strophe has eight lines, verses 1-6; the second, ten lines, verses 7-15; the third, ten lines, verses 16-23. If, now, we examine the second strophe, we find it to be throughout an address to the people of God, with a concluding exhortation in two lines,

זֶכַּח * (לֵאלֹהִים) תּוֹרָה וּשְׁלָם לַעֲלִיּוֹן נִרְרִי
וּקְרָאנִי בְיוֹם צָרָה אַחֲלִצֶךָ וְתִכְבְּדֵנִי

The third strophe is an address to the wicked, with a concluding warning,

פֶּן אֶטְרֹף וְאִין-מִצִּיל זֶכַּח תּוֹרָה
יִכְבְּדֵנִי וְשֵׁם-דֶּרֶךְ אֲרָאנִי בִישַׁע אֱלֹהִים

The Massoretic text points זֶכַּח here as a participle, and divides the verse at יִכְבְּדֵנִי. It also gives the clause with פֶּן in the previous verse. If, now, we point זֶכַּח as imperative, we find that the wicked, as well as the people of God, are exhorted to offer a thank-offering; and if we make the second line begin with יִכְבְּדֵנִי, the wicked are exhorted to glorify God, as the righteous had been in the second line which closed the previous strophe. We see, then, that the exhortation is urged in the first line by a warning which reminds us of Ps. II., 12, and in the second line, in the introverted parallelism, by a promise which goes back upon the promise of the closing line of the previous strophe. It seems, then, that we have here two forms of a refrain, which marks the close of the two strophes, and it would appear that the first strophe is just two lines short, on account of the absence of this refrain, which has been omitted, as frequently elsewhere in the Psalter. Cf. Ps. XLVI., 3.

(3) The original Hebrew text, upon which the Ancient Versions were based, and which is the essential thing to be determined in Textual criticism, was altogether without points. It was a consonant text. But even this needs to be determined by a thorough revision of the Massoretic K'thîbh, by a careful study of MSS., the Massora, the Ancient Versions, and citations, and the conditions of the text itself. The rules of external and internal evidence should be applied with scientific accuracy and precision.

(a) The American Revisers agree to the change of the consonants אֶבֶל into אֲבִן; in 1 Sam. VI., 18, as Dr. Chambers says, "one of the few instances in which the existing Hebrew text is corrected, on the authority of the Early Versions, the internal evidence in their favor being overwhelming." Here Dr. Chambers seems to use the internal evidence to strengthen the external evidence of the Versions. But he has said that "*conjectural emendation is worthless*," and that the Versions are of uncertain authority. How can two such weak reasons make a strong one? But there are other examples of departure from the Massoretic text which the American Revisers allow.

* This divine name is probably a prosaic addition. It is quite frequent, in Hebrew Poetry, that divine names are inserted, against the original rhythm.

(b) In Isa. ix., 2, they follow the Q^ri לִי, and reject the K^thibh לֹא. The Bab. Codex agrees with the western codices here. The Peshitto, Targum and Saadia agree with the Q^ri; but Symmachus and the Vulgate are with the K^thibh. The LXX. gives it τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ λαοῦ ὁ κατήγαγε ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου. The documentary evidence is in favor of the K^thibh, and the Versions are divided. Following the example of the LXX., several modern critics change the text to הִגִּיל, as Selwyn, or הִגִּילָה, as Krochmal and Cheyne. The Q^ri is easy; but the לִי would be in an unnatural position, and apparently superfluous to the sense and the rhythm. If we render "whose joy thou didst not increase," as Hitzig, Hengst., *et al.*, we have a contrast which is in accord with viii., 23. The לֹא is the more difficult reading, and is to be preferred on that account. The three great critical principles count for לֹא. There is no such "imperative necessity" for departing from the K^thibh as the American Revisers require. Textual Criticism sustains the K^thibh.

There are very many textual changes which ought to have been made from better critical authority.

(c) Ps. LXVIII., 23 is given by the R. V.:

"That thou mayest dip thy foot in blood,

That the tongue of thy dogs may have its portion from *thine* enemies."

The Massoretic text is:

לִמְעַן תִּמְחֹץ רִגְלְךָ בַּדָּם
לִשׁוֹן כְּלָבִיךָ מֵאוֹיְבִים מִנָּהוּ

The English Revisers change תִּמְחֹץ into תִּרְחֹץ, and מִנָּהוּ into מִנְתּוֹ.

The American Revisers agree to the rendering of the last line. They may have followed Perowne, in taking מִנָּהוּ as a noun, מִן with the archaic nominal suffix הִי; but there is no lexical authority for such a word as מִן = "portion." It is better to correct the text by a single letter, to get a good word, than to keep the text and forge a word. The rendering "portion" we presume comes from מִנְתּוֹ, which the Revisers saw to be a proper change in the text. But it is not a necessary change. The A. V. renders מִנָּהוּ as preposition מִן with suffix, "in the same." Some interpreters supply a verb, and render drink "of it," or "of them." External authority for the change of text, and corresponding change of rendering, is wanting. The internal evidence is probable, but not necessary. The other change of מִחֹץ into רִחֹץ, which the American Revisers reject, has strong evidence in its favor. Several Versions, such as LXX., Vulgate and Syriac, give external evidence for it. It is easy to explain a copyist changing רִחֹץ into מִחֹץ, owing to the מִחֹץ of verse 22. Moreover, intrinsic probability is so strongly in favor of the change, that the American Revisers are forced to supply the very verb which they decline to find in the original; so that they render "crush *them*, dipping."

(d) Psalm VIII., 1 is rendered by R. V., "Who has set thy glory upon the heavens." The American Revisers allow it to stand, and yet object to the margin "so some ancient versions," which justifies it. The Massoretic text cannot be rendered in that way. There is no documentary evidence for the change in Hebrew MSS. We must go to the Versions. These require us to change תנה into נתתה. There is, however, an easier change of תנה into תנה, suggested by Ewald, and followed by Riehm and others, which retains the K'thibh, and only changes a single point. This commends itself to our judgment as best explaining all the facts of the case.

(e) The current Massoretic text reads in Hos. II., 22, יִדְעֵת אֶת יְהוָה. This is supported by the LXX. But the Babylonian Codex reads יִדְעֵת כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה. This is supported by the Vulgate "quia ego Dominus." The authority of the documents and the Versions is divided. Cheyne refers to the usage of Hosea elsewhere as an internal evidence in favor of the common text; but it seems to us that the context of chap. II. is decisive for כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה, on account of the contrast between בְּעַלִּי and אֲשִׁי, and the removal of the name בְּעַל as a lawful name of Israel's God, in order to the use of יְהוָה.

(f) The Massoretic text of Hos. V., 11, is הִלַּךְ אַחֲרַי צו; but the LXX. and Peshitto read שׁוּא. This better reading is mentioned in the margin. The omission of the א was an easy scribal error, in the unaccented text, which read אַחֲרַי שׁוּא וְאֲנִי. The omission of the א would force the change of שׁ to צ.

(g) Psalm XXXII., 5, is somewhat difficult of construction. The difficulty is removed if, with Hupfeld, we transfer אִמְרָתִי from the second line to the first line of the verse, and read,

אִמְרָתִי חֲטָאתִי אֹדִיעַךְ וְעֹנִי לֹא-כִסִּיתִי
אֹדָה עַל־פִּשְׁעִי לַיהוָה וְאַתָּה-נִשְׂאת עֹן-חֲטָאתִי

The Revisers ignore the difficulty by rendering the imperfect אֹדִיעַךְ "I acknowledged," which is contrary to good grammar as well as to the parallel אֹדָה, which they render "I will confess." The אִמְרָתִי must be supplied in sense, in order to translate correctly.

(h) Psalm LXXXII. is composed of three strophes. The strophes begin with imperatives or jussives, e. g., תִּן, verse 1; יִרְדֵּךְ, verse 8; וְיִהְיֶה, verse 15; which then pass over into future indicatives, e. g., 1-7, 8-14, 15-17. These jussives are ignored in the Revised Version, where they are all rendered as futures. The margin proposes to ignore the indicatives, and translate all as jussives, ignoring the difference in form. The strophes are uniform, save that the middle one has an extra line. When we compare the line

כִּי יֵצֵל אֲבִיו מִשּׁוּעַ וְעֹנִי וְאֵין עֹז לּוֹ

with Job XXIX., 12, כִּי אֲמַלֵּט עֹנִי מִשּׁוּעַ וְיָתוֹם וְלֹא עֹז לּוֹ,

we see that it is a free reproduction of it. The clause with כִּי is different from

all the other clauses of the previous and the subsequent context, which are all clauses of direct statement in future indicatives in progressive parallelism. We cannot escape the conclusion that the line has come into the text from a marginal note, and that it should be stricken out.

(i) Ezekiel xxi., 31, is rendered by the A. V., "Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: this *shall not be the same*: exalt *him that is low*, and abase *him that is high*." The R. V. substitutes "mitre" for "diadem," "*be no more the same*" for "*not be the same*," "exalt *that*" for "exalt *him*," and "abase *that*" for "abase *him*." The R. V. gives in the margin "I will remove," etc., for "Remove," etc., and "Heb., not this" for "no more the same." The American Revisers do not object to the R. V.

The Massoretic text gives three infinitive constructs, הָרִים, הָסִיר, and הִשְׁפִּיל, and one infinitive absolute הִנָּח. The A. V., R. V., margin of R. V. and American Revisers all follow the Versions against the Massoretic text, and point these four forms alike as infinitive absolutes. The text renders the infinitive absolutes as imperatives, the margin as first person of imperfect; either of which is correct if the forms be really infinitive absolutes. There is a clear inconsistency here between the one infinitive absolute and the three infinitive constructs, but the textual principle of consistency requires that we should correct the one infinitive absolute after the three infinitive constructs, rather than the reverse. Hence Ewald renders:

"Zu entfernen ist der Kopfbund und wegzunehmen die Krone! das ist nicht das! das Niedrige ist zu erhöhen und das Hohe zu erniedrigen!"

There is certainly here no "imperative necessity" or any "extreme difficulty," to require a departure from the Massoretic text and a following of the Versions. Ewald is here stricter in his adherence to conservative critical principles than the Revisers.

Furthermore, we are constrained to inquire why the Revisers did not give the "that" of the clause "exalt that which is low" in italics, in order to show that this word was not in the text, and that it was of the nature of an interpretation. The A. V. is more careful here; for although they interpret differently, they give their interpretation in italics, and render "*him that is low*" and "*him that is high*." The same objection may fairly be taken to the rendering "This *shall be no more the same*," as against the more careful A. V., "this *shall not be the same*." "No more" is an interpretation. The Hebrew gives simply the negative **לֹא**, as the margin "Hebrew, not this."

The R. V. leaves the A. V. "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it; this also shall be no more," in its inexactness. The margin "An overthrow, overthrow, overthrow will I make it" ought to have gone into the text. And the last clause ought to have been rendered correctly. **גַּם זֶאת לֹא הִיא** cannot be rendered "this also shall be no more." The verb is perfect and masculine, and cannot

have a feminine subject before it, or be rendered as future. The **גַּם זֹאת** belongs to the previous clause, and **לֹא הִיא** to the following. This is clear from the difference in gender.

(k) Psalm LXXXVII. is a charming little pentameter, whose movement escapes the Revisers. We shall arrange it correctly, and then arrange it as the Revisers translate. It should be arranged

יסודתו בהררי קדש אהב יהוה
 שערי ציון מכל משכנות יעקב
 נכבדות מדבר כך עיר האלהים
 אזכיר רחב ובבל לידעי
 הנה פלשת וצר-עם-כוש זה ילד-שם
 ולציון יאמר איש ואיש ילד-בה
 והוא יכוננה עליון יהוה
 יספר בכתוב עמים זה ילד-שם
 ושרים כחללים כל מעיני כך

This arrangement disregards the accents which separate verses 1 and 2. The margin of the Revision is correct here. We also remove יהוה from verse 6 to the close of verse 5. The Massoretic text reads **כך מעיני** = "all my fountains are in thee." But the LXX. *κατοικία*, and the Vulgate *habitatio* imply a different pointing, **מְעִינֵי** = "dwellers in thee," a construct of participle **עִין** to dwell.

Accordingly, we translate :

"His foundation in the holy mountains Jahveh is loving ;
 The gates of Zion more than all the tabernacles of Jacob.
 Glorious things are being spoken in thee, city of God.
 I mention Rahab and Babylon as belonging to them that know me ;
 Behold Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia, this one was born there,—
 Yea, as belonging to Zion, it is said, One and another was born in her.
 And He himself establishes her—the Most High, Jahveh,
 He counts, in writing up the people, This one was born there,
 And singing as well as dancing are all who dwell in thee."

The Revisers arrange the Psalm :

יסודתו בהררי-קדש
 אהב יהוה שערי-ציון
 מכל משכנות יעקב
 נכבדות מדבר כך
 עיר האלהים
 אזכיר רחב ובבל לידעי
 הנה פלשת וצור עס-כוש
 זה ילד-שם
 ולציון יאמר איש ואיש ילד-בה
 והוא יכוננה עליון

יְהוָה יִסְפֹּר בִּכְתוּב עַמִּים
 זֶה יֶלֶד-שָׁם
 וְשָׂרִים כַּחֲלָלִים
 כָּל מַעֲיָנִי בְךָ

Any one can see that there is no poetry here.

The Revisers seem capricious in their treatment of Hebrew Poetry for (1) their arrangement of the parallel lines is not in accord with the laws of Hebrew Poetry, (2) they neglect the poetry of the prophets altogether, (3) they make the Old Testament discordant with the New Testament, for the Revisers of the New Testament Version give the parallelisms of the poetic extracts from the prophets, and at times differ from the Old Testament Company in the parallelisms, that both have given, e. g., Heb. III., 9; Mark XII., 36; Acts II., 17.

We have given a sufficient number of examples to show that the attitude of the Revised Version to the Textual criticism of the Old Testament is an inconsistent and untenable one. The Revisers appear not to have followed the well established rules of Textual criticism. They have neglected to build on a correct Hebrew text; they have not sought a correct Massoretic text; they have departed from the current Massoretic text in a few cases, but with caprice, making departures that were not necessary, according to their own restrictions, and which are not sustained by the laws of Textual criticism, and yet declining to make changes which the rules of Textual criticism imperatively demand. The Textual criticism of the Old Testament is in its infancy. It is desirable that the defects of the Revised Version, in this respect, should arouse Hebrew scholars and the general Christian public to a realization of what needs to be done, and to an earnest resolve and an enthusiastic endeavor to accomplish the work. A Christian Bible-loving people will never be satisfied with a version which does not rest upon a thoroughly revised and carefully sifted Hebrew text.

SIPPARA.

BY REV. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D. D., LL. D.,

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Sippara is known in Scripture as Sepharvaim. We are told that it was one of those cities whose inhabitants, with those of Cuthah (supposed to be Tel Ibrahim), Avva (or Ivvah, locality unknown), and Hamath, were carried to Samaria to replace the children of Israel carried captive in the reign of Hoshea (2 Kgs. xvii., 24). The Sepharvites, we are told, burned their sons in worship of their gods Adrammelech and Anammelech (2 Kgs. xvii., 31). The Rab-shakeh of King Sennacherib, sent by him to Jerusalem from Lachish, mentions Hamath and Arpad, and then Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivvah, as cities which could not withstand the royal armies (2 Kgs. xviii., 34; Isa. xxxvi., 19, where Hena and Ivvah are omitted); and a little later the king sends a letter to Hezekiah in which these towns are mentioned in the same order (2 Kgs. xix., 13; Isa. xxxvii., 13).

In the Fragments of Berosus, Sippara is also called Sispara, Sippbara, and Pantabibla, the latter name being an obvious but incorrect translation of the Semitic name of the city. Of the ten kings before the Flood, he says that five (Euseb., *Armen. Chron.*, p. 5, ed. Mai) were from Pantabibla, preceded by two from Babylon, and followed by three from Larancha. As quoted in Syncellus (p. 39 B) four of these kings were from Pantabibla (so also Syncellus quotes Berosus from Abydenus, p. 38 B).

Syncellus (p. 30 A) and Eusebius (*Armen. Chron.*, p. 14, ed. Mai) report Berosus as saying that before the Flood Kronos commanded Xisuthrus to bury in "Sippara, the city of the Sun" (no longer Pantabibla) the record of all things, beginning, middle and end; and further, that after the Flood, when his ship had settled on one of the Cordyæan mountains of Armenia, he was bidden by the god to dig up these records, which was done when he went south to Babylon. The same legend, quoted through Abydenus, is told more briefly elsewhere (Syncellus, p. 38 D; Euseb. *Armen. Chron.*, p. 22, ed. Mai), Sippara being also called Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun.

In Ptolemy (V. 18, 7) the form Sippbara is given, and it is one of the few towns of the twenty-two on the Euphrates which are easily recognized. The same town is probably designated as Hipparenum in Pliny's Natural History (VI. p. 691, ed. Franz, 1778). He says that in Mesopotamia the city of Hipparenum is famous for the learning of the Chaldees, and is near the canal Narraga, and that its walls were thrown down by the Persians. He mentions Babylon and Orchœ (Warka, Erech), farther south, as the other seats of Chaldean learning.

It would be interesting and important, did space permit, to trace the town in the later literature of Zosimus, Ammian, the Talmud of Babylon, Abulfeda, Benjamin of Tudela, and others. It bore different names, and it is a task of difficulty to disentangle these names, and those of the Royal Canal, Nahar-malka, at whose exit from the Euphrates it lay. Apparently the name Hipparenum, or Harpanya, was transferred to a spot north of the canal, now called Sufeireh, and Sippara took the names of Persebora, Firuz-Sabor, Shabor, and Anbar or Ambar. Persebora is called by Zosimus the largest city in Assyria, after Ctesiphon, which had 600,000 inhabitants.

In the Talmud, which contains a mine of information about Babylonian geography, yet but imperfectly worked, Sippara seems to be mentioned under several names. Neubauer, *Geog. de Talmud*, p. 340, shows that the Talmudic city of Nehardaa, was at the junction of the Nahar Malka, or Royal Canal, and the Euphrates, and on the south bank of the canal, which he identifies with the present Nahr Isa. Nehardaa is the same, he shows, with the Naarda of Ptolemy, and the Naharra of the Peutingerian Tables, and also identical with, or close to Hipparenum, which was also at the point of departure of the Nahar Malka from the Euphrates. Nehardaa was one of the chief places of Babylonia, and one of the districts was named after it (Neub., p. 342). This was the most ancient Jewish community in Babylonia. From Nehardaa the Jews sent their alms to Jerusalem, and here they found a refuge from persecution.

We now turn to the Assyrian inscriptions to learn what they can tell us about this once famous city. Its Akkadian designation was Ud-kib-nun, with the determinative sign ki added. In the Semitic Assyrian it is Sippar or Sipar. There is no likelihood that the word is derived from a root meaning "a book," notwithstanding the Greek translation of Pantabibla. Perhaps the derivation given in the four-column syllabary W. A. I., V. 23, 1, Reverse (mistake for obverse) l. 29, from *Zimbir*, the meaning of which is not easy to guess, is equally incorrect. The existence of two Sippars has long been recognized, a Sippar of Anunit, apparently identical with Agane, otherwise read *Agade* or *Akkad*, and a Sippar of Shamash, the sun-god; and these two have been regarded as two faubourgs of a single city, separated by a canal, and thus making the city double, and accounting for the Hebrew dual Sepharvaim (see Fr. Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 209-212, for the fullest account of Sippar in cuneiform records).

Sippara is always mentioned in such a way as to indicate that it was one of the oldest and largest cities of Babylonia.

In W. A. I., II. 13, l. 26, d, a, grammatical bilingual text, the fortress of Sippar is mentioned, following the mention of the fortresses of Nipur and Babylon (cf. Lenorm. *Étud. Accad.* 7, 3, p. 16; Oppert et Menant, *Doc. Jurid.* p. 11). This text distinctly identifies the Akkadian form Ud-kib-nun with the Semitic Sipar. In a bilingual list of towers (*ziggurat*) in Babylonia, W. A. I., II. 50, l. 8, Sippar

is mentioned, and l. 9, Agane. These are preceded by Babylon and Nipur. A bilingual tablet, W. A. I., II. 48, l. 55, a, b (Lenormant, *Etud. Accad.*, III. p. 211), mentions "the star of Sippar," following it by "the star of Nipur," and "the star of Babylon." Other passages could be quoted which indicate equally that Sippara, Babylon and Nipur were the chief towns of Akkad.

Sippara was on the Euphrates river. Indeed the Euphrates is called in a syllabary, W. A. I., V. 22, Rev. 30, 31 (Budge's *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon*, p. 7, N.) the River of Sippar. The two lines read:

Idicnu = Nahar Bartiggar,

Puranunu = Nahar Sippar,

or "The Idicnu [Sumerian name] is the River Tigris, and the Puranunu [Euphrates] is the River of Sippara." Also a clay cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II. W. A. I., V. 34, col. 1, l. 39 (Budge's *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon*, p. 22), in a description of the building of the quay along the bank of the Euphrates at Babylon, calls that river "the River of Sippara."

Among the passages which distinguish the Sippar of Shamash from the Sippar of Anunit may be mentioned the Synchronistic Table, W. A. I., II. 65, 18, 19. (Lotz's *Tiglath Pileser*, pp. 200, 201; *Records of the Past*, V. p. 89; Menant's *Annales de l'Assyrie*, p. 51) where we are told that Tiglath Pileser I. (1120-1100 B. C.), in the second year of his reign, destroyed in Upper Akkad the cities of "Durkurigalzu (Akerkûf), Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Anunit, Babylon and Upe (Opis), great cities, and their fortresses." This locates Sippara in the district which extends not much south of Babylon, and recognizes the two places of the name. Other similar passages could be cited.

The Sippara of Shamash had a temple to the sun-god called E-babbara (otherwise vocalized Bit-parra); while the temple of Anunit at the Sippara of Anunit was called E-ulbar (otherwise Bit-ulbar). We have noticed above that Berossus is quoted as calling Sippara the city of the Sun. Thus on the barrel of Nabonidus from Mûgheir, W. A. I., 69, 3, l. 27, 29, 42 (Oppert, *Exped. en Mes.*, I., pp. 273-275; Menant, *Bab. et Chald.*, p. 257; Lenormant, *Berose*, pp. 293-295), we read, "E-babbara, the temple of Shamash of Sippara, and E-ulbar, the temple of Anunit of Sippar." The temple E-ulbar, built or repaired by the ancient king Sagaraktiyas, is said, *ib.*, col. 2, l. 29, to have been in Agane, and, col. 3, l. 28, to have been the temple of Anunit of Sippara. The identity of Agane with Sippara of Anunit is further indicated by W. A. I., IV. 59, 3, l. 54, where Anunit is mentioned as the goddess of Agane; and W. A. I., III. 43, 1, l. 19, where E-ulbar is mentioned in close connection with Agane (*ib.*, l. 23). Menant, *Bab. et Chald.*, p. 96, mentions a "Nahar Agane," Canal of Agane, which he supposes to flow between the Sippara of Shamash and the Sippara of Anunit, but I fail to find the text which confirms it.

Sippara appears finally in the history of the capture of Babylon from Nabon-

idus by Cyrus. In all his memorial inscriptions Nabonidus records his repairs of the temples in Sippara of Shamash and Sippara of Anunit, describing his search for the old foundations and memorial tablets of Sagaragtiburyas, and Naramsin, son of Sargon I., 3200 before, W. A. I., V. 64, col. 2. The tablet which gives the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, *Transs. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, VII. p. 158, says that on the fifth of Nisan the mother of Nabonidus "who dwelt in the fortress and camp on the Euphrates river above Sippara, died." Eight years later Sippara was captured by Cyrus "without fighting." This passage clearly indicates that Sippara was on the Euphrates. Agane is mentioned also by Cyrus in his cylinder, W.A.I., V. 35, 31, as one of the places where he restored the shrines of the gods.

From these, and other passages which might be cited, but which add little geographically, we would safely gather that Sippara was on the Euphrates river, above Babylon, near the north line of Akkad, that it was one of the very oldest and largest cities of Akkad, the seat of the earliest great conqueror Sargon, and that it continued down to the time of Cyrus to be a city of the greatest importance.

This place Mr. Rassam claims to have discovered at Abu Habba, a ruin a little to the left of the caravan road from Baghdad to Babylon and Hillah. He has carried on extensive excavations there, and found a great number of tablets bearing date at Sippar of Shamash. A large stone tablet also found there describes the repair of the temple of Shamash of Sippara. It has generally been admitted, since the discovery of these remains, that Abu Habba must be the site of Sippara.

I visited Abu Habba twice, while with the Wolfe expedition to Babylonia. It was the first tel I visited after reaching the country, and my time was limited, and my results unsatisfactory. After visiting Southern Chaldea, on my return to Baghdad, I paid it a second visit, for the purpose of discovering if it could be made to agree with the description given of Sippara in the monuments. It is a large and very important ruin, though scarcely of the first class. The walls are nearly square, perhaps seven hundred yards long, and the enclosure is divided into three principal parts by two cross walls which are not parallel to the northern and southern walls. Of these included sections only the middle, shaped nearly like the letter V, is occupied by ruins. The explorations made by order of Mr. Rassam are very extensive, having opened scores of rooms, but they are chiefly about the south-west corner, and large spaces are undug. The deepest excavation is about a large, square tower, but nothing was found there. The men who conducted the excavations for Mr. Rassam showed us all about, and pointed out the place where was found the stone with pictures of "Noah and his three sons" (the Sun-god of Sippara), and assured us that they knew, by the indications of ashes, where further tablets could be found by a day or two's digging. I looked especially to see if there was any thing to correspond to the "double city" which Sippara has been

supposed to be, but there is nothing duplex about it. It is a single faubourg in the enclosing walls, with no marked depression, or canal course dividing it. It has been supposed that the ed-Deir, distant about five miles, might be the Sippara Anunit, or Agane, while Abu Habba is the Sippara of Shamash; but ed-Deir, which I did not visit, was described to me as an unimportant ruin, where digging has failed to discover any thing. Another thing which troubled me about making any identification was the fact that Abu Habba is not on the Euphrates, but is some seven miles distant, or nearly a third of the distance which separates the Euphrates from the Tigris. It has been suggested that perhaps the Euphrates used to run near Abu Habba; but this is very improbable. There is, south-west from Abu Habba, along the east bend of the Euphrates, a long hill of conglomerate stone, sixty feet high, which would prevent the Euphrates from taking a detour so far to the east as Abu Habba. We may safely conclude that Abu Habba never was on the river, and never could have given its name to the Euphrates. That it was the Sippara of Shamash seems, however, to be beyond question, judging from the tablets, so dated, found there, and the stone tablet of the Sun-god, W. A. I., V. 60, 61.

It was in view of the difficulties that I have indicated that I determined, on my way from Baghdad to the sea-coast, by the route of the Euphrates and the Syrian Desert, to visit the ruin of Sufeirah, where, before Mr. Rassam's excavations at Abu Habba, Sippara had been generally located (Oppert, *Exp. Scient.*, I. 271; Menant, *Bab. et Chald.*, p. 96; Delitzsch, *Wo Lag das Par.*, p. 212; T. G. Pinches, *Transs. Soc. Bib. Arch.* VII. p. 173) as late as 1880. Sufeirah is situated just north of the Nahr Sakhlawieh, which is a chief canal, or river, and is about four or five miles from its point of outflow from the Euphrates. I went completely over it, and found it a low, unimpressive mound, about 250 yards wide, over which there were scattered much less than the usual quantity of bricks and slag. It had no salient elevations or gullies that would make a photograph. I was very much disappointed about it.

Fortunately we were detained in the Arab mud village Sakhlawieh by the rain, and called on the Mudir. Asking him about ruins in the vicinity, he mentioned one called Anbar, which he said was larger than Sufeirah. Not expecting very much, but anxious not to let any chance escape, I walked three miles down the river that night, and again the next morning, to make a more careful examination. I found it not only much larger than Sufeirah, but larger even than Abu Habba, and of a size to compare with those capital ruins of Warka and Niffer. It is a double city, and the principal, or, apparently, older city, is surrounded by walls from thirty to fifty feet high, and with the city nearly on a level with these walls. To the east of this city and its wall, is another city on a lower level, separated from the first by what seems to have been a canal, or moat. The wall, or bank,

on the east side is not continuously clear, but on the west side it is a marked feature. The chief, west city is of irregular height and construction, and there are in it two large courts, on a much lower level than the rest, of irregular shape, and surrounded by high banks, as if they were the courts of ancient palaces or temples that surrounded them. These courts are now used as wheat fields, and, gathering the rains of the banks around them, do not require irrigation. Over large spaces this western city is covered thick with fragments of bricks, with considerable pottery and glass, but I saw no inscribed brick, and I doubt not these fragments belonged to a period of Parthian or Abbassid domination. On the east side of the old city, and on the vertical sides of what looked like a gate, I saw a floor of brick laid in mortar above and below it. The eastern city is large, but on a lower level. As its eastern extremity was a space about two hundred yards square, surrounded by walls of sun-dried bricks, and with a building projecting into the enclosure from the western side. A large bay runs in on the north side, I think between the two cities, almost surrounded by walls. The two cities can hardly be less than a mile long. On the south side is a little Arab village, and on the west a dilapidated ziarrat, or Moslem holy place. There is no marked ziggurat, or tower, as at Hammam, or Akerkuf, although some elevations suggest one. The faces are nearly to the cardinal points. There were a number of little outlying tels to the south and south-west. Anbar is but about a mile from the present bed of the Euphrates.

I was extremely surprised and much delighted to find this enormous mound in a place where it had attracted so little attention from previous travelers that it was not on the large Kiepert's map of Turkey, of 1884, which was our constant guide. In about this location a mound, apparently not important, is mentioned under the name of "Tell Akar," in Kiepert's map *Ruinenfelder*, etc. I was convinced, on seeing it, that this must be the original and larger Sippara, the dual Sepharvaim of Scripture, as no other Babylonian city could have been large enough to compete with it. Allowing, if we must, Abu Habba to be the Sippara of Shamash, I am inclined to put Sippara of Anunit, the old capital of Sargon, and the seat of the antediluvian kings, at Anbar. It fulfills the conditions, being the only great city north of Babylon on the Euphrates, and situated on the Sakhlawieh, which is very likely to be the Nahr Agane, and is certainly the Nahar Malka on which the great cities were located which occupied the site of Sippara and supplanted its name in the period from the historians of Alexander's campaigns to Benjamin of Tudela and Abulfeda. I regret that space will not allow me to develop this most interesting portion of the subject, showing how the name of Anbar, which is retained from Arabic writers on the maps down to the early part of this century, and is familiar in the middle ages; and, in the Talmud, the names of Nehardaa, and Shabor (the latter possibly a relic of Sippara, possibly con-

nected rather either with the name of king Sapor, or with Persebora, another earlier name for this place which Zosimus says to have been the largest city but one in Babylonia) have been applied to the old Sippara. Under various slight disguises the name Nehardaa is known to Josephus, Ptolemy, Stephanus Byz., and the Peutingerian Tables, as well as to the Talmud. I take room only to quote Abulfeda, who says that the Isa Canal (formerly the Nahar Malka, now the Sakhlawieh) passed by El Ambara, under the bridge Dahama, in the territory of Feluja; that Anbar, or Ambara, is a day's journey from Baghdad (a long one); and that here the first of the Abbasid Khalifs, the blood-thirsty Abdul Abbas Sefah, settled; but that it was a very old city, built long before by Nebuchadnezzar, who was the first to dig the Nahar Malka, and who settled the nomad Arabs here as tillers of the soil.

A single other point will close this discussion. A little fragment of a tablet in my possession, to whose character Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, kindly called my attention, is only about an inch square, but it contains complete the four lines—all there were in that section, of the Sumerian column of a bilingual inscription which has an important bearing on this subject. These lines are thus read by Mr. Pinches:

- (1) Sipar D. S.
- (2) Sipar edina D. S.
- (3) Sipar uldua D. S.
- (4) Sipar utu D. S.

This geographical tablet gives a clear indication that there were not one, or two, but four cities or districts called Sippara. By the first we may understand is meant the chief or original Sippara, while the last is the Sippara of Shamash, utu being the Sumerian form of Shamash. The second and third forms are new, although Sipar ulla D. S. is found W. A. L., IV. 38, 1, l. 22 b. The second Sipar edina, or Sipar of Eden, or of the plain, deserves special attention, which I cannot give it now. I only call attention to the fact that this is, so far as I know, the first inscription discovered in which *Eden* occurs as the designation of a geographical region, and so it is very important as confirming Delitzsch's argument in his *Wo lag das Paradies?* As no Sippara of Anunit is distinctively mentioned, it is safe to infer that it is this chief and old Sippara that is meant by the first line where the simple name occurs with the determinative sign only.

It is my conclusion that, while the Sippara of Shamash has been discovered by Mr. Rassam at Abu Habba, the original Sippara, that known as Sippara of Anunit, the Sippara of the most ancient Sargon I., who was exposed in his infancy like Moses in the bulrushes, the Sippara of Xisuthrus, the city captured by Cyrus "without fighting," the seat of a famous Jewish school, after Ctesiphon the largest city of the times of the Arsacidæ, the Sassanidæ and the Khalifs, is

now to be found south of the point of the effluence of the Sakhlawieh from the Euphrates in the mound which I have discovered still bears its mediæval name of Anbar, and which is one of the very largest tels in the valley of the two rivers. It is much to be desired that this mound, never yet touched by the spade of the excavator, might be investigated by American scholars, and the literary treasures buried in this old Pantabibla, whose fame as a city of books is carried by tradition to a period before the Flood, might be recovered for our study.

It may be proper to add here that for much politeness and many favors, while making explorations in the East, I am indebted to Hemdi Bey, who has charge of the Constantinople Museum of Antiquities, and to the Turkish governors of provinces, cities and villages, who never failed to give all the assistance I desired..

INSCRIPTION OF AŠURBANIPAL, FROM A BARREL-CYLINDER FOUND AT ABOO-HABBA. V. Rawl. 62, No. 1.

Transliterated and translated by JAMES A. CRAIG and ROBERT F. HARPER, Leipzig.

I. TRANSLITERATION.

1. (m ilu) Ašûr-bân-apal šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar (mātu) Aššûr šar
kib-rat irbit-ti
2. šar šarrâni rubû la ša-na-an ša ina a-mat ilâni ti-ik-lê-šu ul-tu tam-tim ê-lit
3. a-di tam-tim šap-lit i-bê-lu-ma gi-mir ma-lik ú-šak-niš šê-pu-uš-šu ;
4. apal (m ilu) Ašûr-âḫ-iddin-na šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar (mātu)
Aššûr šakkânâku Bâbîli (ki)
5. šar (mātu) Šumêr u Akkadi mu-šê-šib Bâbîli (ki) ê-pêš Ê-sag-ila
6. mu-ud-diš êš-rê-ê-ti kul-lat ma-ha-zê ša ina ki-rib-ši-na iš-tak-kan si-ma-ti
7. ũ sat-tuk-kê-ši-na baṭ-lu-tu ú-ki-nu ; bin-bin (m ilu) Sin-aḫê-êrbâ šarru rabû
8. šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar (mātu) Aššûr a-na-ku-ma. Ina palê-ê-a bêlu rabû
(ilu) Marduk ina rê-ša-a-ti
9. a-na Bâbîli (ki) i-ru-um-ma ina Ê-sag-ila ša da-ra-ti šu-bat-su ir-mê
10. sat-tuk-kê Ê-sag-ila u ilâni Bâbîli (ki) ú-kin ki-tin(ain?)-nu-tu Bâbîli (ki)
11. aḫ-šur aš-šu dan-nu a-na ênšu la ḫa-ba-li. (m ilu) Šamaš-šum-ukîn âḫû
ta-li-mî
12. a-na šarru-ú-ut Bâbîli (ki) ap-kid ũ ši-pir Ê-sag-ila la ka-ta-a
13. ú-šak-lil ina kaspi ḫurâši ni-sik-ti abnê Ê-sag-ila az-nun-ma
14. ki-ma ši-tir bu-ru-mu u-nam-mir Ê-ku-a ũ ša êš-rê-ê-ti ka-li-ši-na
15. ḫi-bil-ta-ši-na ú-šal-lim ê-li kul-lat ma-ha-zê ú-šat-ri-ši an *dul-lum*(?).
16. Ina û-mê-šu-ma Ê-babbar-ra ša ki-rib Sippar (ki) bît (ilu) Šamaš bêli rabê
bêli-ia ša la-ba-riš
17. il-lik-u-ma i-ku-pu in-nab-tu aš-ra-ti-šu aš-tê, ina ši-pir (ilu) [Libitti(?)]
18. êš-šiš ú-šê-piš-ma ki-ma šadi-i rê-ê-ši-i-šu ul-li a-na šat-ti.
19. dânu rabû ilâni bêlu rabû bêli-ia ép-šê-ti-ia dam-ka-a-ti ḫa-diš lip-[pa-lis-ma]
20. a-na ia-a-ši (m ilu) Ašûr-bân-apal šar (mātu) Aššûr rubû pa-liḫ-šu balât û-mê
rûkûtê šê-bê-ê lit-[tu-ti]
21. tu-ub šêri u ḫu-ud lib-bi li-šim ši-ma-ti u ša (m ilu) Šamaš-šum-[ukîn]
22. šar Bâbîli (ki) âḫi ta-lim-ia û-mê-šu lê-ri-ku liš-bi bu-'a-ri. Ma-[ti-ma]
23. ina aḫ-rat û-mê rubû ar-ku-ú ša ina û-mê palê-šu ši-pir šu-a-ti in-na-ḫu-ma
24. an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš šu-mî it-ti šumi-šu liš-ṭur mu-šar-ú-a lê-inur-ma
25. šamni lip-šû-uš (immêru) nikâ lik-ki it-ti mu-šar-ê-šu liš-kun ik-ri-bi-[šu]
26. (ilu) Šamaš i-šim-mê ša šu-mî šaṭ-ru ũ šum ta-lim-ia ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti
27. i-pa-aš-ši-tu šu-mî it-ti šumi-šu la i-šaṭ-ṭa-ru mu-šar-ú-a

28. i-ab-ba-tu-ma it-ti mu-šar-ê-šu la i-šak-ka-nu (ilu) Šamaš bêl ê-la-ti u šap-la-ti
 29. ag-gi-iš lik-kil-mê-šu-ma šumi-šu zêri-šu ina mâlâti li-ḫal-lik

II. TRANSLATION.

1. Ašurbanipal, the great king, the powerful king, the king universal, the king of Assyria, the king of the four quarters of the world,
2. the king of kings, the prince without an equal, who, by order of the gods, from the upper sea
3. to the lower sea ruled and brought under his subjection all princes;
4. the son of Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, the king universal, the king of Assyria, the mayor of Babylon,
5. the king of Sumeria and Akkadia, who caused Babylon to be inhabited, who built Êsagila,
6. who repaired the temples of all cities, who adorned their interior,
7. and established their discontinued sacrifices; the grand-son of Sennacherib, the great king,
8. the powerful king, the king universal, the king of Assyria, am I. During my reign, the great lord Marduk, with rejoicing,
9. entered Babylon, and, in Êsagila, he established his dwelling forever.
10. The sacrifices of Êsagila and of the gods of Babylon I established, the priesthood of Babylon
11. I strengthened, so as not to injure either powerful or weak. Šamaš-sum-ukîn, my real-brother,
12. I appointed to the sovereignty of Babylon, and the work of Êsagila, which was incomplete,
13. I finished. With silver, gold and precious stones, I decorated Êsagila,
14. and like the variegated heavens, I caused it to shine. Êkua and all the other temples,—
15. their damages I restored, over the whole city I spread out my (protecting) shadow(?).
16. In those days, Ê-babbar-ra, which is in Sippar, the temple of Šamaš, the great lord, my lord,
17. which had become old, had fallen in, and was destroyed, its sanctuaries I sought out, with the work of the [Brick-god(?)]
18. I caused to be built anew, and, like a mountain, I raised high its spires [...]
19. May the great judge of the gods, the great lord, my lord, look with joy upon my good works.
20. To me, Ašurbanipal, the king of Assyria, the prince, his worshiper, a long life, abundance of offspring,
21. health of body and joy of heart, may he determine as my lot. And as for Šamaš-šum-ukîn,

22. the king of Babylon, my real-brother, may his days be long, and may he be satisfied with glory.
23. In the future, may the later prince, in whose reign this work shall fall into ruin,
24. repair its ruins, my name with his name may he write, my inscription may he see, and
25. with oil may he cleanse (it), a sacrifice may he offer, with his inscription may he place (it), his prayer
26. shall Šamaš hear. Whosoever my name so-written and the name of my real-brother in a work of deceit (*i. e.*, treacherously, deceitfully)
27. obliterates, my name with his name does not write, my inscription
28. destroys, and with his inscription does not place it, may Šamaš, the god of the upper and lower regions,
29. in wrath look upon him, and from the face of the earth blot out his name and his seed.

Nov. 28th, '85.

ADVANTAGES OF A SLIGHT KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW

BY FREDERIC GARDINER, D. D.,

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The importance to every student of theology of a thorough knowledge of the original language of the Old Testament is so evident as to require little argument. It is not so generally realized that even the slight knowledge of Hebrew acquired in the ordinary routine of our divinity schools is of great value. Men who lay aside their Semitic studies as soon as they enter upon the practical duties of life are apt to think the time they have spent upon them has been almost or wholly wasted. Is this true?

It is to be remembered that the whole Bible, the New Testament as well as the Old, was written by men trained in Semitic habits of thought and modes of expression. Any thing which enables us to better understand those habits and forms of expression must therefore necessarily be of value to the student of Scripture. We believe that even a slight study of Hebrew, or of any other Semitic language, will fix in the mind, in a way never to be forgotten, some important knowledge of this kind which cannot be so well acquired in any other way.

Almost the first lesson learned by the tyro in Hebrew is that the language was originally written only in consonants. Except the meager indications of the "*matres lectionis*," the vowels have been subsequently supplied. Of course these vowels are not arbitrary; they constantly determine the grammatical forms and frequently seriously affect the sense. Still they are secondary; the *radicals* are all consonants. It is not so in our Western languages; what may be learned at the start from this difference? Is it not that to the Semite the *root-idea* of his words, as expressed by their radicals, had a greater relative importance than with us? He cared relatively less than we about its modifications and shades of meaning; his main point was in the fundamental idea.

After mastering the alphabet, the learner will very soon attack the paradigm of the verb. The first thing that will strike him here, so at variance with every thing to which he has been accustomed in the Indo-European languages, is the starting-point. It is no longer the Infinitive, nor the first person of the Present; but the third person of the Narrative tense. This not merely carries us back to the dim beginnings of the growth of language; it shows us what the Hebrews must have been always accustomed to look upon as the starting-point in all they had to say,—narrative, or in other words, facts. The history of what had occurred before them was the foundation on which they rested. And the recognition of this, which may be called the historical habit of mind, is a most important factor in understanding the Scripture writers. Is a divine law to be given re-

quiring the heart's obedience of the people to its Author? It starts with the story of the creation of all things by Him. Is the Evangelist to show that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised and expected Messiah? He begins with His genealogy. Are apostles to proclaim to a lost world salvation through Christ? They set out from the historic fact of His resurrection.

The next peculiarity of the verb which is very surprising and perhaps perplexing to one who has been hitherto occupied with the study of the classic tongues is the poverty of the Semitic languages in tense-distinctions. Evidently to the Semites of old, as to the Semitic races now, ideas of time were not prominent, and the nicer distinctions, so accurately expressed in Greek, were almost or quite unknown. It is true that the New Testament authors wrote in Greek and had learned to use its tenses, when they had occasion, with accuracy. Still, their ancestral speech and their sacred books were in a language in which time was a matter of secondary importance. They lived much nearer than we to the idea of "the Eternal Now," to the divine omnipresence in all time as in all space. What a flood of light does this fact cast upon a large part of the prophecies, and especially upon that New Testament prophecy of the *παρουσία* which has been so much misunderstood. To the Hebrew-born apostles the important point was the thing; the time of its manifestation was altogether secondary. In fact, its overshadowing importance gave it the effect of nearness, just as the overhanging cliff, seen through the vista of a clear air, makes us tremble as if it were upon us, though we may know it to be distant. They thought of it, not in its relation to time, but in its relation to the end of all things.

When the student has learned the Qāl of the simple verb, with only its complete and its incomplete tenses, supplemented by its Imperative, Infinitive and Participle, he turns to the other "conjugations" which answer to our Western "voices." Instead of the two of the Latin, or the three of the Greek, he finds in Hebrew seven, in Syriac eight, and in Arabic no less than thirteen forms of the regular verb active and as many of the passive; so that it becomes difficult or impossible to express in English, even by periphrasis, the precise force of each of this multitude of "voices." Here it is at once seen that, although the Semitic mind was singularly indifferent to the time idea in its verbs, it was correspondingly alive to other modifications of the verbal idea.

Space would fail to speak of all the peculiarities of Semitic grammar which throw light upon the modes of thought and expression in writers of Semitic origin. Passing allusion only can be made to the juxtaposition of nouns, by which the latter is made to qualify the former (often indicated by what is called the *construct state* of the former); so that the two together form one complete idea, thus largely supplying the place of compound terms, and making good the poverty of these languages in adjectives. This throws light upon the use of the Genitive in the New Testament, and should have absolutely forbidden such a marginal read-

ing in the Revision as "judge of unrighteousness" for "unrighteous judge" in Luke XVIII., 6. This is as absurd as "hatred of violence" would be for "violent hatred," for instance in Ps. XXV., 19.

In conclusion, a single word may be said of a common Hebrew method of comparison which, especially when it passes into the language of the New Testament, is often misunderstood. When our Lord says, "I thank thee, O Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes" (Luke x., 21), we are not to understand that He is thankful that they are hidden from any one, but that they are revealed to babes *rather than* to the wise and prudent. So when He said to the seventy, rejoicing in their power over evil spirits through his name, "In this rejoice not. . . . but rather rejoice," He does not mean to forbid the lower joy, but only to point them to one infinitely greater. Perhaps the passage where inattention to this form of comparison has been most productive of misunderstanding is St. Paul's quotation from Malachi (Rom. ix., 13; Mal. i., 2) "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated." It is true that this passage refers not so much to the individuals mentioned, as to their descendants; yet even so, it is a comparison: "I have loved Jacob more than Esau." Familiarity with Hebrew would have prevented any misunderstanding.

It is not to be supposed that the tyro in Hebrew, especially if he takes little interest in its study, will distinctly formulate to himself these and many other facts which help to the knowledge of the meaning of the Sacred Word. But as we all come to have impressions of our acquaintances which guide our conduct towards them, though we may never make any philosophical analysis of their character; so one can hardly learn even a little of the structure of a Semitic language without, even if it be unconsciously, coming to know what he could hardly learn otherwise of the modes of thought and habits of expression of writers of the Semitic race.

MORIAH.

BY EDWARD G. KING, D. D.,

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In Dr. Cheyne's note on this word in the April number of *HEBRAICA*, he seems to assume that the name "Jehovah-jireh" (Gen. xxii., 14) represents the original reading. There is no one point in which the Hebrew text has suffered more change than in the names for *God*. I have given several examples of this in my *Hebrew Words and Synonyms, Part I. The Names of God*. Perhaps one example may suffice for the present purpose.

In Ps. civ., 16, the present Hebrew text has 'עצי יהוה וגו' "The trees of Jehovah are full of sap..." We may, I think, prove beyond a doubt that the original text was איל עצי אל or עצי אל, for the LXX. reads τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πεδίου; i. e., the text from which the LXX. translated did not read יהוה, but איל; for, if we turn to Ps. xlii., 2, כאיל הערג וגו', Aquila badly translates ὡς αἰλῶν κ. τ. λ., while Versions V. and VI. give ὁ τρόπον πεδίου κ. τ. λ., i. e., the Hebrew איל was translated πεδίου. If now we turn back to Ps. civ., 16, we may confidently assert that the MSS. from which the LXX. translated had (אל or) עצי איל where now we read עצי יהוה. Whether this word אל were intended for *El*, *god*, or for *oak-trees* I do not care to dispute; but that a reviser of the text deliberately changed אל into יהוה is evident. This is only one case out of hundreds.

There is no one point in which the Hebrew text is so little to be trusted as in the reading of the names for *God*. Wholesale changes have taken place *even since the date of the Septuagint translation*. Scholars would do well to attend to the evidence for this before they base arguments on Elohistic or Jehovistic passages. I believe it will be proved that the name יהוה had no place in the original text of Genesis; but that the far older name יה was of frequent occurrence, was known to Abraham, and was originally pronounced *Ah* or *Elh*, as I have endeavored to prove in my *Names of God*. This name יה would naturally be changed by a reviser into יהוה.

Let us now turn to the name Moriah. I admit, with Dr. Cheyne, that it may very possibly be a form of מורה, but I should not call it "a lengthened form" but rather a form after the type מִאֲפִלֵּיה, שְׁלֵה־בְּתִיה, etc. Thus it would denote *The Moreh of God*, or *the high Moreh*. But the word Moreh signifies also *a teacher*. Consequently when Abraham is commanded to go to the land of הַמֶּרֶה (Gen. xxii., 2) the name may well have suggested to him the fact that "God is teaching." With this thought in his mind, he answers Isaac's question by the words (verse 8) "God will provide," possibly in the very words מֶרֶה-יָה; and,

after his deliverance, he calls the name of the place, not מִרְיָה but מִרְאֵה-יָה; i. e., the "Mountain of God" has become to him a place "Shown of God;" it is henceforth a sacred spot. The writer of Genesis translates this into the language of his own day, and paraphrases Abraham's מִרְאֵה-יָה by יְהוָה יֵרָאֶה (verse 14) and adds כֹּאשֶׁר יֹאמַר הַיּוֹם בְּהָרְ יְהוָה יֵרָאֶה; i. e., just as, to Abraham, the "Mountain of God" (מִרְיָה) had become a consecrated spot "Shown of God" (מִרְאֵה-יָה); so, says the writer, "It is said to-day, In the Mount of the Lord a man must appear" (before God, for worship).

Scripture nowhere identifies the Moriah of Abraham with the Moriah of Solomon (2 Chron. iii., 1). Indeed it is impossible to suppose that they were the same. But both were scenes of Revelation, and therefore, like Bethel, spots consecrated for worship. Few scholars will be found to maintain that the language spoken by Abraham was the Hebrew of Genesis. If therefore the record contained in Genesis xxii. be an ancient one, it must be a translation. The name for *God*, used by Abraham, would date back to Akkadian times. This condition is not fulfilled by יְהוָה, but it is by יָה, pronounced *Ah* or *Eh*, which is, I believe, identical in origin with the name for *God* (*A n* and *E a*) among the Akkadians.

A NOTE IN REFERENCE TO THE "MASSORA AMONG THE SYRIANS."

BY PROFESSOR ISAAC H. HALL, PH. D.,

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On page 22 of *HEBRAICA* for October, 1885, in Dr. Warfield's translation of the Abbé Martin's section on the Massora among the Syrians, the spelling of *Ebediesu* is given once as "Aud-Icho;" and a few lines below the spelling "Audicho" is given as representing that which "the Nestorians call" the name of "Ebed-Jesu." To those not familiar with the subject, it might seem that the Nestorians had a different orthography; which is not the case. The Nestorians spell the name in the same way as the other Syrians (vocalizing the *waw*, however as *o*); and the "Au," supposing it to be a tolerable French representation, is merely a matter of pronunciation, chiefly of the *beth*, for which the reasons and procedure may be read in Stoddard and Nöldecke. As to the "ch," that is apparently the French method of expressing our "sh;" for the consonant is *shin*.* As the 'ee or 'äin in both words is unnoticed in the spelling, neither is an adequate representation of the Syrian pronunciation; but that alone would call for no remark.

Is it out of order to protest against the representation, in this generation, of *šade* by "ts," as in "Bar-Tsalibi," on page 23 of the same article? To say nothing of the general facts on the subject, and the special fact that "ts" is the perpetuation of a former European misapprehension, which the Europeans themselves are now dropping, it is not possible that Bar Šalibi himself or his contemporaries could have so pronounced the name—any more than the modern Arabic- or Syriac-speaking peoples do, among whom the name Šalibi is still common. We are gradually outgrowing some of the early mistakes about Oriental consonants—among which was the representation of 'äin by *ng*, a sound so difficult for the Orientals that they commonly reproduce it in speech as either *n* or *nk*. It is hard to get at the facts in such matters from books alone, even from such an admirable statement of them as is to be found in Wright's Arabic Grammar; but it is worth while to try to keep on outgrowing mistakes.

Dr. Warfield deserves the thanks of the readers of *HEBRAICA* for his translation. It is but fair to say, however, that, as is implied in Dr. Warfield's footnote on page 13, this article of the Abbé Martin's by no means exhausts the subject, nor, so far as I am aware, presents any thing more than a short sketch of

* The author's mode of transliteration differs slightly from that which is generally followed in this Journal.

facts and inferences more fully presented elsewhere. Also, that the Abbé Martin's general conclusion presented itself as a possibility to Wiseman about sixty years ago, as to others since. My own conclusion, from going over the ground pretty well, a few years ago, was that the balance of argument favored the existence, past if not present, of a Karkaphensian *version* of at least a portion of the Scriptures, and that, so far as could be ascertained or conjectured, it was based on the Peshitto. A partial hint of the reasons is all that can be given here. The fact is suppressed by Martin that the same MS. which contains the ܐܡܪ ܡܠܟܬܐ^2 —which Rosen and Forshall (not Forschall) translated by "*secundum VERSIONEM Karkaphensem!*" (I take the *italics*, etc., from HEBRAICA, for Rosen and Forshall do not have them, of course)—mentions also several times the Peshitto version and the Harklensian version, both of which it calls by the name of ܡܠܟܬܐ^2 , in the sense of *version*. The same phenomenon occurs in other manuscripts. At the same time, the manuscript (it is 7183 Rich, British Museum) gives other Massoretic matters besides those taken from the Karkaphensian, Peshitto, and Harklensian "*versions*," taking them from a series of authors and treatises; but it calls none of these latter sources by the above name of ܡܠܟܬܐ^2 . Moreover, Rosen and Forshall expressly state in a foot-note, at their rendering "*versionem*," that "*Eodem voce Jacobus Edessenus versiones Simplicem et Heracleensem designat, fol. 99. b;*" showing that they had considered the matter. The statement of their foot-note, however, needs a little explanation: instead of *James of Edessa* designating the Peshitto and Harklensian by the same word, it is *this MS.* that does so, at the place which they correctly cite, viz., fol. 99. b.; and the whole MS. is ascribed by its title to James of Edessa, though it—original composition, as well as this copy—is probably much later than his time. Rosen and Forshall might doubtless have cited Gregory Bar Ebraeus for the same use of the term; but their quotations from the latter's "*Treasure of Mysteries*" only show that he put the Peshitto, the Harklensian, and the Karkaphensian on the same footing as Scripture, by a common designation, as if all were *versions*; while other sources that were not versions have a different designation. Rosen and Forshall might have further fortified their rendering by citing the title to the Hexaplar, where the same word is used of the Septuagint *version*. So Assemâni, Wiseman, Rosen and Forshall, and others, have a pretty sound basis to stand upon, which the Abbé Martin does not (at least in the matter translated by Dr. Warfield) care to show to his more popular readers, although he is well aware of its existence. In this light his capitals and exclamation point do not quite suit Saxon frankness. A study of the use of ܡܠܟܬܐ^2 in Syriac literature would still further diminish the scarecrow force of his exclamation point and capitals; but into this we need not go—at least no further than to remark that the "*tradition*" in the word means rather "*delivered*" than "*handed down*," or than "*received from old time*." In that sense it is much

like *παράδοσις* and *παράδιδομι*; and in several places where, from our English version or the Greek, we might expect to find it, it is replaced in the Peshitto New Testament by ܡܠܚܘܬܐ, *teaching, doctrine, (teacher's) commandment*. As applied to a *version*, the etymology might make us suppose that the medial step was to indicate *the translation delivered by*—e. g., the Seventy; but etymological reminders do not outweigh usage in the definition or understanding of a word.

Just two things more may be mentioned. One is that, if the quotation from Assemâni had included two more of his lines, it would appear that the above triple assemblage of versions, or whatever the common designation of them means, were reckoned as occupying a higher plane than the Nestorian copies of the Scriptures. These lines read: "Demum singulis fere paginis notantur variæ lectiones, seu punctationes *Nestorianorum*, hoc est, Chaldæorum, qui Nestorii labe infecti sunt." The other thing is, that it is hard to explain *all* the statements and Scripture extracts in Wiseman, under the general Karkaphensian subject, as belonging merely to the Syriac Massora, to a *correctorium* whose scope was larger, or even to an exegetical work. I may say, also, to show that a short extract may *seem* to be from an exegetical work, and yet be part of a double version, that Syriac MSS. exist (one of the sort is in my hands just now) in which *two versions* of an entire composition occupy the same pages; a sentence of one version following a sentence of the other, all through—much after the fashion of an interlinear translation, only it is not interlinear, but in interrupting portions.

Had we only these Syriac Massora MSS., and not the actual Peshitto and Harklensian too (and perhaps we may include the Septuagint also), the Abbé Martin's arguments would inevitably sweep them out of existence along with the Karkaphensian. His statement that all the mountains of Europe and Asia have been ransacked, and every crack and cranny searched, is hyperbolic, and not enough to show that no fragment of a Karkaphensian may yet turn up. The European libraries alone have not yet told all their secrets to the ransackers. It is better to study the Syrian Massora, and reap its benefits, holding in suspense the question of the existence of a Karkaphensian version, than to throw away the stimulus which the balance of argument seems now to furnish in the line of possible discovery. Unless, indeed, we may see another alternative, in the Abbé's conclusions, and begin a general ransacking for MSS. which present hitherto unknown Massoras, but which must exist somewhere as the Peshitto, Harklensian, Septuagint, and other "traditions."

ON THE PENITENTIAL PSALM "DE PROFUNDIS."

BY PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT, PH. D.,

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In the prospectus for the second volume of *HEBRAICA*, it was announced that I should publish a commentary on the fifteen so-called *Songs of Degrees*, Hebrew שירי המעלות, i. e., *The Songs of the Return*¹ (from the Exile),² Psalms cxx.-cxxxiv. I fear that I shall not, in the near future, find time to complete this task, and will therefore content myself, for the present, with offering Psalm cxxx.,³ heretofore commonly misunderstood, in text and translation. As to the commentary, I shall limit myself to some brief preliminary remarks.

The text of this fervent penitential song is, according to my opinion, to be restored in the following manner:

שיר מעלה
ממעמקים⁵ קראתוך יהוה
אדני שמעה בקולי
תהיינה אוניך⁶ קשבות
לקול תחנוני

¹ Cf. Ezra vii., 9: המעלה מבל. I will note here that my predecessor in the chair of Semitic Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, Thomas C. Murray, (whom an untimely death called away), in his interesting and suggestive *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms* (New York: Scribner, 1880), p. 295, adopts the explanation proposed by Agellius, Herder, Hitzig, Hengstenberg, Reuss, Kamphausen, and others,—*Songs of Feast Journeys*, or *Pilgrim Songs*. Cf. also Friedlaender, *Zur Erklärung der Psalmen*, Stettin, 1857, p. 16.

² This of course can also mean "Songs of the first period after the return from exile." Concerning the plural מעלות, it will be useful to bear in mind that "A Song of the Return from Babylon" would be in Hebrew שיר מעלה מבל, without the article before מעלה. The plural to this, "Songs of the Return," can be expressed in three different ways, either שירי מעלה or שירי מעלות (cf. Hitzig, *Psalmen* II., 365: "den Plural מעלות wuerde nicht die Stelle Ez. xi., 5, sondern nur Plur. auch des Stat. const. rechtfertigen."), or finally מעלות שיר. In the same way in Ethiopic there occurs as plural to beta krestian church either abyata krestian or abyata krestianat or beta krestianat. See Dillmann's Grammar, p. 365; Muller-Robertson, *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax*, 2d ed., Glasgow, 1883, § 77; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 108, 3. שיר המעלות, with the article before the *nomen rectum*, can only mean, like שירי המעלות, "the songs of the return," and is therefore out of place as the superscription of a single Psalm.

³ Luther once termed this Psalm, along with Psalms xxxii., li., and cxlii., as *Psalmi Paulini*; see Moll, *Der Psalter, theologisch-homiletisch bearbeitet*. Part II. Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1871, p. 185. Also A. Tholuck, in his *Uebersetzung und Auslegung der Psalmen*, 2d ed., Gotha, 1873, p. 704, says, "the Psalmist here promulgates the true evangelical doctrine of the New Testament; teaching, according to Exod. ii., 6 and 7, that the enduring existence and prosperity of sinful people is only possible through divine forgiveness."

⁴ Cf. Ps. lxxix., 3: באתי במעמקי-מים I am come into deep waters; Ps. lxxix., 15: אֲנִצֵּל מִשְׁנֵאִי אֲנִצֵּל מִשְׁנֵאִי let me be delivered from them that hate me and out of the deep waters; Isa. li., 10:

ה אם עֲנֹת תִשְׁמְרֶיהָ

אֲדָנִי מִי יַעֲמֵד :

כִּי־עֲמָךְ הִפְלִיחָה

לְמַעַן תִּירָא

קִוִּיתִי יְהוָה

⁸ וּלְדַבְּרוֹ הוֹתָה נַפְשִׁי

הוֹחִילָה נַפְשִׁי לְאֲדָנִי

מִשְׁמָרִים לְבָקֵר :

טו שְׁמָרִים לְבָקֵר

יִחַל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלֹהִים

כִּי־עַם־יְהוָה הַחֹסֵד

וְהַרְבֵּה עִמּוֹ ⁹ פְּרוֹת

עַתָּה נִשְׁפָּרְתָּ מִיָּמִים בְּמַעֲמָקֵי־מַיִם מַעֲרֵבָךְ : Ezek. xxvii., 34: *the depths of the sea*; *now art thou broken* (Jonah i., 4; 1 Kgs. xxii., 48) *from the seas, in the depths of the waters thy merchandise and all thy company in the midst of thee are fallen.*

§ If I could find the time to carry out a long entertained plan of publishing a *Hebrew Chrestomathy*, I should but partly vocalize all the texts, and arrange the words in the *Glossary* according to the stems. That the latter system gives the beginner too much difficulty, is an erroneous supposition. The student who can look up a verbal form like אָט under נָטָה, will, I presume, also be able to find out the stem of nouns like מַקְלָכָה, etc. For more complicated cases an *Analytical Index* could be added. As to the vocalization of the texts, I consider it superfluous to point words like אֱלֹהִים, וְיֹאמֶר, הָאָרֶץ, etc., throughout. An entirely unpunctuated text, on the other hand, like the *Liber Genesis sine punctis exscriptus* cur. Muehlau and Kautzsch (ed. altera, Lipsiae, 1885) is hard to employ for educational purposes. Certain difficult words should, by all means, be pointed. But then, above all, a *critical text*, with emendations of the corrupt passages, should be established. The more this departs from the Massoretic text, the better for practical linguistic training. Ps. cxix., 3, 5, e. g., I should write, עֲנֵת, שְׁחַבְרָה־לָּהּ עֲנֵת, יְרוּשָׁלַם הַבְנוּיָה פְּעִיר שְׁחַבְרָה־לָּהּ עֲנֵת, שְׁשֵׁם יִשְׁבוּ בְּקִסְאוֹת וְגוֹי. And Ezra iii., 3: וַיֹּאסְפוּ מַעֲמֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת וַיְכִינוּ הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עַל־מִכְנוֹתָיו כִּי בָא אִמְהָ עֲלֵיהֶם וַיַּעֲלוּ עֲלֵיוֹ עֹלוֹת וְגוֹ. It stands to reason that the first extracts must be vocalized throughout; but the points should gradually become more scarce. This is the only way to really learn Hebrew. "In order that I may not be misunderstood," says Lagarde (*Symmetica*, II., 23), "I will add that it is no proof of an acquaintance with Hebrew to have attended, or for that matter to have given, lectures on the Old Testament." Cf. also *Mittheilungen* von Paul de Lagarde, Goettingen, 1884, p. 164, and Hitzig, *Psalmen*, I., p. iv.

עַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יְהוֹיָנָה עֵינֶיךָ פָּתוּחוֹת וְאוֹזְנֶיךָ קִשְׁבוֹת לְתַפְלַת הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה : "Now, my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be open and let thine ears be attent unto the prayer that is made in this place." Cf. *ibid.*, vii., 15.

⁷ Cf. Neh. ix., 17: אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי סְלִיחוֹת "thou art a God of pardons;" Dan. ix., 9: לְאֲדָנִי "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgiveness, though we have rebelled against him."

⁸ Cf. Isa. viii., 17: קִוִּיתִי לוֹ "I look for him;" Prov. xx., 22: קָנָה לַיהוָה וַיִּשַׁע לָךְ "Wait on the Lord and he shall save thee."

⁹ Cf. Ps. cxi., 9: פָּרוֹת שְׁלַח לְעַמּוֹ "He sent redemption unto his people;" Isa. i., 2: הֲקָצוֹר "Is my hand shortened at all that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver?"

כא והוא יפדה את-ישראל
מכל עונותיו
יחל ישראל אל-יהוה
מעתה ועד-עולם

This *Prayer for the Forgiveness of Sins on Atonement-day*, as Rev. Robert Weber¹ has appropriately superscribed the poem, I translate as follows :—

Out of the depths² I have cried unto thee, Yahweh.
O Lord ! hearken unto my voice ;
Let thine ears be attentive
To the voice of my supplications.

If thou shouldest keep³ iniquities, Yah,
O Lord ! who *then* shall endure ?—⁴
For with thee is forgiveness
For the sake of the Religion.⁵

¹ See *Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments uebersetzt und erklart von Robert Weber*, evang. reform. Pfarrer. Stuttgart: C. P. Scheitlin, 1853, p. 323. According to Adolf Kamphausen (*Die Psalmen*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863, p. 253, reprinted from Bunsen's *Bibelwerke*) only verses 7 and 8 treat of the people of Israel; otherwise, he says, the Psalm appears to be entirely personal. Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, Vol. II. Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1865, p. 386), on the other hand, remarks, that the Psalmist appears here as interceder for the sins of the people. E. W. Hengstenberg (*Commentar ueber die Psalmen*, Vol. IV., 2d ed. Berlin, 1852, p. 401) is right in saying, "Out of the depths of misfortune the congregation cries unto the Lord, praying that, according to his compassion, he may forgive their sins through which they have been cast into distress." It is also possible that only strophes 1, 3 and 5 were said by the congregation, and strophes 2 and 4 by the priest. Rosenmueller's conjecture (*Scholka in Vetus Testamentum*) that the Psalm was first sung at the general penitential day, Ezra ix., 5, cannot be proved.

² This does not mean "Out of the deep abyss of sin" (Geier, Weber), but "sunk in the deep waves of distress" which have come over us in consequence of our sins. Cf. Ps. lxi., 2 and 3, and *ibid.*, 14 and 15. As is well known, Luther begins his beautiful penitential song, which closely follows this Psalm: "*Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu Dir.*"

³ If thou shouldest keep *in memory*, that is, cherish against, put to the account of. According to Ewald (*Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, I., 1, 3d ed. Goettingen, 1866, p. 373) = if thou dost not overlook, condone, forgive. The meaning is nearly the same.

⁴ Supply: But thou wilt not deal with us after our sins; nor reward us according to our iniquities; Ps. ciii., 10: כעונותינו תגמל עלינו ולא כחשאינו תעשה לנו ולא כחשאינו תעשה לנו. German: *Aber Du wirst Gnade fuer Recht ergoehn lassen.*

⁵ That is: We in our sins are unworthy of thy grace, but do forgive us for the sake of the true Religion revealed by thee, of which we are the only though unworthy representatives. In spite of all our misdeeds, we are still thy people and the sheep of thy pasture. Therefore, deliver us and purge away our sins, for thy name's sake. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name. Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is their God? Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name. But show mercy to us that fear thee, to such as keep thy covenant, and to

I hope for Yahweh,
And for his word¹ hopeth my soul;
My soul waiteth for the Lord
More than they that² watch for the morning.

Ye that watch for the morning!³
Wait, Israel, for Yahweh!
For with Yahweh is grace,
And in abundance⁴ is with him redemption.

And He will redeem Israel
From all his iniquities.⁵
Wait, *therefore*, Israel for Yahweh
From now and for evermore!

The reading תִּירָא, with י instead of ו at the end of the second strophe, is authenticated by Saint Jerome.⁶ Graetz, in his critical commentary to the Psalms,⁷ remarks for this passage: "לִמְעַן תִּירָא⁸ is quite incomprehensible, the reading being uncertain. Symmachus and Theodotion render it by νόμος or νόμος σου,⁹ LXX. by νόμος σου,¹⁰ probably misread for νόμος. Worthy of note is Jerome's

those that remember thy commandments to do them. Ps. lxxix., 13, 9, 10, 6; Ps. ciii., 17, 18: אֲנַחְנוּ עִמָּךְ וְצֶאֱזָן מִרְעִיתְךָ הִצִּילָנוּ וְכַפֵּר עַל-חַטֹּאתֵינוּ לִמְעַן וְשִׁמְךָ עֲזָרָנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעֵנוּ עַל-דִּבְרֵי כְבוֹד-שִׁמְךָ לָמָּה יֹאמְרוּ הַגּוֹיִם אִי־הוּא אֱלֹהֵיהֶם שֶׁפָּךְ חֶמְתָּךְ אֱלֹהֵי־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִדְעוּךָ וְעַל-מַמְלָכוֹת אֲשֶׁר בְּשִׁמְךָ לֹא קִרְאוּ עֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד עִם-יִירָאִין לְשִׁמְךָ בְּרִיתְךָ וּלְזִכְרֵךְ. פֶּקֶדִין לַעֲשׂוֹתָם

¹ Cf. Exod. xx., 6: אֲנִכִּי יִהְיוּ אֱלֹהֶיךָ עֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד לְאַלְפִים וּלְשִׁמְךָ מִצּוֹתֵי: I, Yahweh, thy God will show mercy unto the thousandth generation of them that love me and keep my commandments.—According to Ewald, "the everlasting word of God through all time, the word of salvation and redemption."

² After a night's vigil.

³ For the morning glow of his grace, with which a new day breaks after the night of sins.

⁴ For many, and even for the greatest distress.

⁵ And the sufferings that follow them. Cf. יִתְעַן, Isa. v., 18, and my remarks in my article *Watch-ben-Hazael*, p. 3 (HEBRAICA, Vol. I., No. 4).

⁶ I should like to call attention here to the useful little book by Wilhelm Nowack (now Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Strassburg), *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus fuer die alttestamentliche Textkritik untersucht*, Goettingen, 1875.

⁷ *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung*. Von Dr. H. Graetz, Vol. II., p. 651. Breslau: Schottlaender, 1883.

⁸ The Syriac Version and the Arabic Version of the פְּשִׁטָּתָא Psalms, published in the Libanon at Quzhayya in 1810, omit these two words entirely.

⁹ In the Vulgate: propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine. The *Psalterium juxta Hebræos Hieronymi* (e recognitione Pauli de Lagarde, Lipsiæ, 1874, p. 136) has: cum terribilis sis; cf. Ps. lxxvi., 8: cum terribilis es, et quis stabit adversum te? Heb.: אֲתָה נּוֹרָא אֲתָה וּמִי-יַעֲמֹד לִפְנֶיךָ.

¹⁰ Ἐπεκεν τοῦ νόμου σου seems to me simply guessed at by reference to passages like Ps. lxxix., 9; xxiii., 3, etc.

tradition on this point (*Epistola ad Sun[niam] et Fret[elam]*, No. 78): "Pro nomine sive lege apud eos (Hebraeos) legitur *Thira*, quod... Symmachus et Theodotion *νόμον* interpretati sunt...., putantes *Thora*, propter literarum similitudinem Jod et Vau, quae tantum magnitudine distinguuntur." According to this, the text contained תִּירָא, not תּוֹרָא or תּוֹרָה.¹

The תִּירָאם כְּתוּבִים², too, seems to have read תִּירָא, erroneously regarding it as scriptio plena of the imperfectum apocopatam Niphal from תִּירָא : רָאָה = תִּירָא³ = תִּירָאָה. We find there as the translation of our verse: אָרוֹם גִּבְךָ שְׂבִיכּוֹתָא מִן בְּגִלְל דְּתַתְּחִמִּי for *with thee is forgiveness that thou mayest be seen*.⁴

I read תִּירָא, and consider it a rare synonym of יִרְאָה. It seems to be a form with prefixed ת from יִרָא to fear, like תִּימִן⁵ south, properly the right side, from יָמִן. The word תִּירָא here must have the same meaning as יִרְאָה in Ps. xix., 10:

רֵאֵת יְהוָה טְהוֹרָה עוֹמֶדֶת לְעַד מִשְׁפָּטִי-יְהוָה אֱמֶת צִדְקוֹ יִחְדּוּ

The Yahweh religion is pure, enduring forever;

Yahweh's ordinances are truth and righteous altogether.

For the use of יִרְאָה without the following יהוה cf. Job iv., 6:

הֲלֹא-יִרְאָתְךָ בְּסֻלָּתְךָ וְתִקְוַתְךָ תָּם רִכְכִּיךָ

Is not thy piety thy confidence; thy hope⁷ the uprightness of thy ways?

In the third strophe I have changed הוֹלַחְתִּי to הוֹחִילָה, and transposed וְלִדְבָרִי. These emendations are confirmed by the Ancient Versions.

The LXX. translate: ὑπέμεινά σε, κύριε, ὑπέμεινεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου εἰς τὸν λόγον σου ἡλπισεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον . .

The Vulgate:⁸ sustinui te, Domine, sustinuit anima mea in verbo ejus; speravit anima mea in Domino, etc.

The פְּשִׁיטָא סְחִיבָא לִפְסִי לְחַלְלָא : שְׁחִבָא לְחַלְלָא : פְּשִׁיטָא לְחַלְלָא

¹ That the choice of the rare word תִּירָא is an intended assonance to תּוֹרָה law is not excluded.

² *Hagiographa Chaldaice*. Paulus de Lagarde edidit. Lipsiae, 1873, p. 77.

³ Cf. תִּיעֶשָׂה Exod. xxv., 31, for תִּעֶשָׂה יִידֵעַ Ps. cxxxviii., 6, for יִידֵעַ אֵלֶיךָ for אֵלֶיךָ Mich. i., 8.

⁴ Cf. also the rendering of the *Sexta*: ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὑπερῷον λόγον σου, on the strength of which Graetz proposes to read למען תורע דברך, or simply למען תורע.

⁵ Cf. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebraischen Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1861, p. 399; Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, § 261 a; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 85, 51. If we prefer to vocalize תִּירָא we must compare forms like תִּירָה, Isa. xli., 19; ix., 13; תִּירָנֶע, etc. (Olshausen, 399), or the feminine forms תִּירָה hope, תִּירָה strife, Ps. xxxix., 11; תִּירָה perfection, Ps. cxix., 96.

⁶ In the Massoretic text the י is placed before the following תָּם. ותם רכִּיךָ תקותךָ as Umbreit (*Das Buch Hiob*, 2d. ed., Heidelberg, 1832, p. 34) proposes to read, would destroy the rhythm.

⁷ Observe the *chiasmus*. For the pre-position of the predicate cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 145. i. b.

⁸ In the *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*, on the other hand, we read in accordance with the Massoretic text: sustinui dominum, sustinuit anima mea, et verbum ejus expectavi; anima mea ad dominum, etc. The תִּירָאם כְּתוּבִים has: תִּירָאם כְּתוּבִים אֲמִתִּינִי יְהוָה מְתִנֶּה נַפְשִׁי וְלֹאִיקְרִיָּה אֲוִרִיכִי : תִּירָאם כְּתוּבִים אֲמִתִּינִי יְהוָה מְתִנֶּה נַפְשִׁי וְלֹאִיקְרִיָּה אֲוִרִיכִי (cf. Job vi., 11) נַפְשִׁי . . .

⁹ For the name of the chief Syriac version of the Bible see Professor Isaac H. Hall's remarks in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XI., No. II., p. CXXIII (*Proceedings at New*

in Hebrew transcription: סִבְרַת דְּמַרְיָא וְסִבְיַת נַפְשִׁי לְמַלְתָּה סִבִּית לְמַרְיָא ..

So we read also in the four Arabic Versions edited by Paul de Lagarde:¹

يا رب ترجيت
ولكلمتك رجيت نفسي
نفسى توكلت على الرب
يا رب رجوتك
لرمت نفسي ناموسك
نفسى توكلت على الرب
ارتجيت بالرب
وانتظرت نفسي لكلمتك
ترجيت الرب
صبرت لك يا رب
صبرت نفسي فى قولك
توكلت نفسي على الرب

Yâ rabbi tarajjaitu
wa-likálimatika rájat nafsî
nafsî tawákkalât 'alâ-'r-rabbi, etc.

Yâ rabbi rajaútuka
lázimat nafsî nâmúsaka
nafsî tawákkalât 'alâ-'r-rabbi, etc.

Irtajaitu bi-'r-rabbi
wá-'ntazarat nafsî likálimatihi
tarajjaitu-'r-rabba, etc.

Šabartu laka² yâ rabbi
šábarat nafsî fî qaulika
tawákkalât nafsî 'alâ-'r-rabbi, etc.

York, October, 1882). Cf. also Friedrich Baethgen, *Untersuchungen ueber die Psalmen nach der Peschita*, Kiel, 1878, p. 7, and Noeldeke, *Syr. Grammar*, § 26, B.

¹ *Psalterium Job Proverbia Arabice*. Paulus de Lagarde edidit. Goettingen, 1876, [pp. 214/5. No. 1 is the *Versio Romana* of 1614, No. 2 the *Parisina* (in the Paris Polyglot), No. 3 the *Quzhay-yensis* (cf. p. 101, n. 8), No. 4 the *Beræensis* (Abulfath's Version, after the Aleppo edition of 1706). Cf. Lagarde, *Symmicta*, II., Goettingen, 1880, p. 10.

² *Sabartu laka I wait for thee* (cf. נַפְשִׁי אֹרִיכָא, p. 102, n. 8) is modern Arabic, *sabarat* nafsî, on the other hand, is used also in the classical language; cf. لو حبس الرجل نفسه على شيء يريد أن صبر نفسي

In Aramaic, the form הוֹחִילָה would be אוֹחִילָה or הוֹחִילָה, and to the third pers. fem. sing. perf. there is attached sometimes in Syriac a parasitic ' as a diacritical mark, e.g., ܡܠܝܬܐ she has killed, for ܡܠܝܬܐ qitlath.¹ That the change of הוֹחִילָה to הוֹחִילָתִי has any connection with this fact is difficult to assume.

The repetition of the שְׁמֵרִים לְבָקֵר in the beginning of the fourth strophe has heretofore been commonly misunderstood, since no one perceived that the words, with a delicate turn of the figure, are used as accosting the congregation. The vocative construction is implied in the following imperative יְחַל יִשְׂרָאֵל, which is by no means to be altered to a jussive יִחַל or יִחַלֵּה.

Bickell² in his metrical³ translation of the Psalms, entirely omits this significant repetition. De Wette⁴ considers the second שְׁמֵרִים לְבָקֵר merely "*Wiederholung im Geiste des Stufen-rhythmus*;" so, too, Olshausen⁵ says, it has a significance only for the outward form of the recitation. Graetz thinks, the repetition might be intended as an *antiphony* of the chorus. Hengstenberg remarks: The night seems long to the watchers and so to the suffering the night of affliction. "*Schmerzliche Sehnsucht liebt die Wiederholung*." According to Delitzsch⁶

¹ Cf. Noeldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 35. The ' was perhaps added by analogy to the second person: ܡܠܝܬܐ, fem. ܡܠܝܬܐ. The ܐ in ܡܠܝܬܐ she may also have had some influence. Similarly, in the third pers. fem. impf., e.g., ܡܠܝܬܐ. Duval's theory (*Traité de Grammaire Syriaque* par Rubens Duval, Paris, 1881, p. 173) that "le youdh quiescent de la troisième personne du féminin sing. vient sans doute d'une ancienne voyelle i, ou qui formait la desinence de l'imparfait," like the Arabic yaqtulu, taqtulu, seems to me untenable. I do not believe that this ܐ was ever pronounced.

² See *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, Zum ersten Male nach dem Versmasse des Urtextes [?] uebersetzt von Gustav Bickell. III. *Der Psalter*, Innsbruck, 1883, p. 250. Bickell renders the passage: "Ich hoff' auf Gott, auf Sein Wort | Harrt meine Seele. | Mehr als auf Fruehrot Waechter, | Har', Israel, Sein!" Cf. also Johann David Michaelis *Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments, mit Anmerkungen fuer Ungelehrte*. Part VI., 2d ed., Goettingen, 1782, p. 206: "Meine Begierde sieht nach dem Herrn aus, | Mehr als einer, der zur Nachtzeit reiseth, auf den Morgen wartet. | Israel hoffe auf Jehova," etc. In the notes, however, on p. 276, he gives the correct translation: "more than they that watch for the morning." Ernst Meier, *Die poetischen Buecher des alten Testaments uebersetzt und erlaeutert*, Part II., *Die Psalmen*, Stuttgart, 1850, p. 156, translates: "[Es hofft] meine Seele | Auf den Herrn, | Mehr als Waechter | Auf den Morgen. || Israel, harre," etc.

³ Bickell is right in assuming, in his translation of our Psalm, strophes of four lines. Olshausen, in his commentary on the Psalms (Leipzig, 1853), deemed it proper to arrange this psalm in four strophes of two verses each. Also Julius Ley (*Grundzuege des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebraeischen Poesie*, Halle, 1875, p. 148) says that the division of this poem into distichs was recognized by the ancient interpreters. His metrical analysis is: first, three strophes of two hexameters, then a fourth of one octameter and an octametric hemi-stich=two hexameters.

⁴ *Commentar ueber die Psalmen*, 5th ed., ed. by Gustav Baur. Heidelberg, 1856, p. 591 below:

⁵ *Die Psalmen* erklart von Justus Olshausen. Leipzig, 1853, p. 463. On Olshausen compare Eberhard Schrader's *Gedaechtnissrede auf Justus Olshausen* (Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences), Berlin, 1883.

⁶ Franz Delitzsch, *Biblischer Commentar ueber die Psalmen*, 4th ed. Leipzig, 1883, p. 806.

the repetition gives the impression "*des langhin sich dehnenden schmerzlichen Wartens.*" Likewise the Ancient Versions fail to find the point. Jerome translates in his *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*: anima mea ad dominum a vigilia matutina¹ usque ad vigiliam matutinam; Symmachus: ἀπὸ φυλακῆς πρωΐνης ἕως φυλακῆς πρωΐνης; the LXX. even: ἀπὸ φυλακῆς πρωίας καὶ μέχρι νύκτος, and following this the Vulgate: anima mea in Domino a custodia matutina usque ad noctem. Rabbi Saadia,² also, says that for the sake of the sense the first "morning" must denote the day, the second the night!

In the last strophe I have added the final verse of the following Psalm. In Psalm cxxxī., which I regard as the fragment of an *Epitaph* on the first post-exilic High-priest Jeshua,³ these words are out of place and without connection with what precedes. That Psalm cxxxii. already in the time of the Chronicler was placed near cxxx. is shown by 2 Chron. vi., 40-42.⁴ Accordingly we may safely assume that Psalm cxxxī. followed Psalm cxxx. at that time, and there is no difficulty in supposing that, even at that early period, the end of Psalm cxxx. was added to the Fragment Psalm cxxxī., 1 and 2, in order to give it a proper conclusion.

Further explanatory remarks I reserve for a future article.

POSTSCRIPT.

It is only to-day that I was able to look up, in the original, the passage cited by Graetz from St. Jerome's *Epistola CVI. ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, § 78; and I found that the remarks omitted by Graetz are the very ones that confirm my conjecture למען תִּירָא for the sake of the religion. It might be well, therefore, to add the entire passage, together with the foot-note in the Paris⁵ edition:

"78. Centesimo vigesimo nono, *Propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine* (Ps. cxxxix., 4). Dicitis vos in Graeco invenisse: *Propter nomen tuum*, et nos confite-

¹ *Vigilia matutina* is אֲשַׁמְרֵת הַבֹּקֶר. I take this opportunity of calling attention to Friedrich Delitzsch's essay on *Die drei Nachtwachen*, No. III. of his *Assyriologische Notizen zum Alten Testament* in Dr. Bezold's *Zeitschrift fuer Keilschriftforschung*, Vol. II., Part III., July, 1885.

² See Ewald, *Ueber die arabisch geschriebenen Werke juedischer Sprachgelehrten*. Stuttgart, 1844, p. 70. On Saadia's translation of the Psalms cf. also Samuel Hirsch Margulies, *Saadia Alfayumi's arabische Psalmenuebersetzung* (Leipzig Inaugural-Dissertation). Breslau, 1884.

³ Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, II., 388), to be sure, thinks that Ps. cxxxī. was written about September 18th, 141 B. C. In the פְּשִׁיטָתָא superscription of this Psalm we find: מְתַאמַר עַל יֵשׁוּעַ בֶּר יוֹרֵךְ כְּהֵנָה רַבָּא. Cf. Graetz, l. c., p. 652.

⁴ See Carl Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters zur Pruefung der Frage nach Makka. baerpsalmen*. Leipzig, 1869, p. 72; Delitzsch, l. c., p. 804 below; Riehm in Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen*, 2d ed. Vol. IV. Gotha, 1871, p. 330.

⁵ *Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Opera Omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne, Tom. I., Paris, 1864, col. 885/6 = pp. 674/5 of Vallarsi's edition, Tom. prim., Pars prima, editio altera, Venetiis MDCCLXVI.

mur plura exemplaria sic reperiri. Sed quia veritati studemus, quid in Hebraeo sit, simpliciter debemus dicere. Pro, *nomine*, sive, *lege*, apud eos legitur THIRA, quod Aquila interpretatus est φόβον, *timorem*.¹ Symmachus, et Theodotion² νόμον, id est, *legem*, putantes THORA, propter litterarum similitudinem Jod, et Vau, quae tantum magnitudine distinguuntur. Quinta³ Editio, *terrorem*, interpretata est, Sexta,³ *verbum*.”

PAUL HAUPT.

Baltimore, Md., Dec. 24, '85.

¹ Cf. Origenis *Hexaplorum* quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta, ed. Fridericus Field, Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, MDCCCLXXV, p. 285: 'Α. ἐνεκεν φόβου ὑπέμεινα κύριον.—Sic ἄλλος apud Chrysost.—Theodoret.: ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὁ μὲν 'Α. καὶ ὁ Θ. φόβον ἠρμήνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Σ. νόμον. Aliter Hieronym. in Epist. ad Sun. et Fret. 78: “Dicitis,” etc., etc.—Cf. also ibid., p. 287, n. 4: Montef. sine auctore affert: Ε'. ἐπὶ φόβου.

² Obstat Theodoretus, qui ἐνεκεν τοῦ φόβου, juxta Aquilam etiam Theodotionem interpretatum fuisse asserit. Quoad Hebraeam vocem Thira, textus hodiernum habet Thora, תּוֹרָה, quod tamen vocabulum, quod cum Aleph scribatur, non He, Lex verti Latine, aut νόμος Graece, non debuit. Itaque hallucinationis occasio non ex similitudine } et ' oritur, quae litterae sola magnitudine differant, sed ex sono postremae litterae ך scilicet aut ך qui fere idem est, et potuit Symmachus et Theodotion in ea voce תּוֹרָה censere ך cum ך fuisse permutatum; quamquam istud, quod Breitingerus animadvertit, תּוֹרָה לַמֶּעַן in Hebraismo insolentius.

³ Cf. Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, p. 36.

DRIVER ON THE HEBREW TENSES.*

BY PROF. JAMES STRONG, S. T. D., LL. D.,

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After a careful examination of this work, and a protracted comparison in the course of my Hebrew reading, I am unable to acquiesce in its conclusions, and I beg leave to state briefly, for the consideration of scholars, my reasons for dissent.

The main position of the book is that the primary and essential distinction between the so-called *Præter* and *Future* tenses in Hebrew, is that the former denotes a fully *completed* act or condition, and the latter an *inceptive* or incomplete one. This point the author elucidates by a detailed application to the various uses and constructions of these forms of the Hebrew verb, including an attempt to solve thereby the mystery of the "vav conversive." Much of the reasoning is very indirect and intricate. I take room to examine only the main point, and that in relation chiefly to the use of the so-called "Future tense;" which is the most difficult and peculiar. I give the author's doctrine in his own words: "One [form] is calculated to describe an action as incipient and so as imperfect; the other to describe it as completed and so as perfect" (p. 6).

In the first place, I suppose no one will deny that in a very large proportion, probably a majority, of instances the so-called "Future tense" actually does denote a *future* event. It is not an adequate explanation of this fact to say that the event is "preparing to take place, or developing" (p. 24). There are usually no signs whatever of its occurrence; it is not merely or properly incomplete; it is not yet even *begun*, except in the mind of the writer. Surely the fundamental import of the form in question cannot be so disguised or varied, in this very common use of it, as not to be distinctly recognizable. The attempt to translate the verb, in these exceedingly numerous instances, as an incipient act would be preposterous, and the author accordingly passes over this very important usage with a few general and vague remarks (p. 25); not even illustrating it by a single example! This seems a notable failure at the very threshold of the discussion.

Many of the distinctions made by the author in the subsequent portion of his disquisition are clear and sound, such as the use of the Future for the *Imperative* (§ 23), the *uncertain* (§ 24), the *potential* or *Subjunctive* (§ 24); but there is nothing novel in all this, nor does it at all support his main position. None of these are incipient acts, nor in any legitimate sense incomplete; they are simply contingent or conceptual. In fact, the use of the tense in question as a proper Imperfect, to

* A TREATISE ON THE USE OF THE TENSES IN THE HEBREW. By S. R. Driver, M. A., Fellow of New College. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1884. 12mo, pp. xviii and 356. Price, \$1.95

denote an uncompleted act, is quite rare in Hebrew, and the Author himself adduces but few examples (§ 27), nor are they very clear. Most or all of them are more readily explainable on the usual theory of the tense. Perhaps I cannot do better than to examine these very passages, in order to show the fallacy and inadequacy of Mr. Driver's chief point.

In Deut. xxxii., 18, תָּשִׁי is not "*Thou beganst to forget* the Rock that had borne thee," but is a *relative*, dependent upon the preceding Præter (יָלַדְךָ), as the Future following with *vav* conversive shows (וְהִתְשַׁכַּח); and the whole should be rendered thus: "A Rock bore thee, *whom thou neglectest*; and thou hast forgotten God thy former." In Job iii., 3, יוֹם אֵלֶּךְ בּוֹ is not to be rendered "*The day I was being born in*" [sic]; but evidently as a relative clause, "*The day on which I was born*"—(*dies quo natus fuerim*, not *nascerer*, nor *natus fuisset*). In Ps. vii., 16, יַפְעֵל is not "*The pit he is (or was) making*," but again as a relative clause, "*The pit which he had just made*;" for he could not fall into it until it had been completed. In Gen. ii., 10, מִשָּׁם יִפְרָד does not mean "*from there it began to divide*," nor in xxxvii., 6, does תִּסְבִּינָה mean that the other sheaves "*began to move round*" Joseph's; but only that the division and the surrounding were *apparent acts*, the objects "*seemed*" to do so; like the יַעֲלֶה or apparent ascent of the mist, and the other Futures in ii., 5, 6.* In Num. xxiv., 17, to render אֶרְאֶנּוּ "*I see him, but not now*," is a clear contradiction in terms. In Jer. vi., 4, יִנָּטוּ is not to be rendered "*The shadows of evening are beginning to lengthen*," but "*will (soon) be lengthened*." In like manner, the instances of an alleged *frequentative* use of the Future (p. 32) may more naturally be resolved as acts depending upon the *will* of the parties, and not necessarily repeated.

I conclude that, while the "Future" in Hebrew evidently denotes a *qualified* or dependent act or condition, it does not contain or represent the form of limitation selected by Mr. Driver, namely inchoation or incompleteness.

* This last verb may perhaps be explained on the same principle as the above, namely the equivalent of the Latin rule that *a relative clause requires the Subjunctive* ("There was a mist that went up"); to which however, in Hebrew at least, must be added the proviso that it is *intended to express a subordinate thought*, and not a principal or independent fact. In such cases the subject properly precedes the verb, because the main emphasis is thrown upon the former, and the latter is merely suppletive to the general idea. The relative אֲשֶׁר is suppressed for terseness, as in English, "the money (which) I earned I spent."

THE DIVINE NAMES AS THEY OCCUR IN THE PROPHETS.

BY BARNARD C. TAYLOR,

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In the Book of Isaiah יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 341 times; יהוה צבאות, 60 times; אלהים, 63 times; אל, 14 times; יהוה אלהים, 20 times; ארני, 36 times; ארני יהוה, 15 times; קדש, 25 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 436 times; אלהים and אל, 97 times; ארני, 51 times.

In the Book of Jeremiah יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 574 times; יהוה צבאות, 76 times; יהוה אלהים צבאות, 6 times; אלהים, 52 times; יהוה אלהים, 53 times; ארני, 6 times; ארני יהוה, 8 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 717 times; אלהים, 105 times.

It will be noticed that, in most cases where אלהים occurs in Jeremiah, it is with some suffix, and is in apposition with יהוה.

In the Book of Ezekiel יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 215 times; ארני, 5 times; ארני יהוה, 215 times; אלהים, 37 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 430 times; ארני, 220 times; יהוה צבאות does not occur.

In Hosea יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 44 times; אלהים, 26 times.

In Joel יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 33 times; אלהים, 11 times.

In Amos יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 52 times; אלהים, 3 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 79 times; אלהים, 8 times.

In Obadiah יהוה occurs, in all, 7 times.

In Jonah יהוה occurs, in all, 26 times; אלהים, 13 times.

In Micah יהוה occurs, in all, 36 times; אלהים, 9 times.

In Nahum יהוה occurs 11 times; אלהים, 1 time; יהוה צבאות, 2 times.

In Habakkuk יהוה occurs 13 times; אלהים, 3 times.

In Zephaniah יהוה occurs 34 times; אלהים, 4 times.

In Haggai יהוה occurs 21 times; יהוה צבאות, 14 times; אלהים, 3 times.

In Zechariah יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 79 times; יהוה צבאות, 52 times; אלהים, 11 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 131 times.

In Malachi יהוה occurs, as a separate name, 21 times; יהוה צבאות, 24 times; יהוה occurs, in all, 45 times; אלהים, 6 times.

It will be of interest to compare these results with the use of the names for God in the Psalms, to see if the date of any Psalm can be determined by the name that prevails.

These prophetic writings cover quite completely the period from 880 (cir.) to the close of the 5th century B. C. At least they belong to the periods when Psalms were produced. If these books do not show that there were periods when

one or the other name was exclusively employed (and they do not) it certainly cannot be claimed that the one or the other name occurs in a particular Psalm or collection of Psalms, because that name was the prevailing one at that period.

The predominance of the name **יהוה** throughout can be accounted for by the fact that this name distinguished God from the idols of other nations. It would be especially appropriate in the mouths of the Prophets in times of idolatry, and of hostilities with other nations.

In Ezekiel the name **יהוה צבאות** does not occur. He does not speak of God as the warrior, leading his people in their battles. But in his book **אֲרֹנִי יְהוה** occurs 215 times. With him **יהוה** is the "Lord of all the earth."

It is most natural that, in the poetry of the Psalms, the more general, the more universal name for God, should be more often used. The ideas, the views of the poet, often regarded God as the **אלהים**, the Mighty, the Adorable One, without further distinction from the idols of the nations.

Without attempting here even to suggest reasons why in some Psalms **יהוה** prevails, while in others **אלהים** prevails, it is maintained, in view of the facts given above in reference to the use of the different names in the Prophets, that the reason is not a chronological one. It is not determined by the *date* of the Psalm.

UNIVERSITY NOTES FROM ABROAD.

BY IRA M. PRICE, M. A.,

Leipzig, Germany.

In the Universities of Germany the following lectures are delivered in the Old Testament and Semitic departments during the present Semester :—

- BERLIN:** *Dillmann*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) History of the Text of the Old Testament, 3) Psalms. *Kleinert*, Genesis. *Strack*, 1) Job, 2) Proverbs, 3) Hebrew Grammar, with exercises, 4) Institutum Judaicum.—* *Barth*, 1) Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy of Derenbourg, 2) The Syriac Apocrypha, 3) The Annals of Tabarî, with Introduction to the oldest Arabic historical writings. *Dieterici*, 1) Arabic Grammar, 2) Poems of Mutanabbi with the Commentary of Wahidi, 3) Exposition of "Thier und Mensch." *Jahn*, 1) Arabic Syntax in Comparison with the other Semitic Languages, especially Hebrew, 2) Arabic Authors. *Sochau*, 1) Syriac Grammar, with Introduction to the Aramaic Dialects, 2) Old Semitic Epigraphy, 3) Arabic Poems of Magatallijjat, 4) Beidhâwî, 5) Exercises in Reading and Explaining Arabic MSS. *Schrader*, 1) Elements of Assyrian Writing and Language, 2) Reading of selected Assyrian Inscriptions, 3) Grammar of the Chaldee Language and exposition of the same in Daniel and Ezra, 4) Assyrio-Babylonian Archæology. *Erman*, 1) Elements of Egyptian Writings and Language, 2) Coptic Grammar, 3) The neighboring lands of Old Egypt.
- BONN:** *Kamphausen*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Old Testament Seminar. *Budde*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Exercises in Hebrew.—*Gildemeister*, 1) Arabic Grammar, Müller's Caspari, 2) Syriac Reading, 3) Arabic Reading, 4) Hamâza.
- BRESLAU:** *Rübiger*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Job, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Schultz*, 1) Biblical Theology of Old Testament, 2) Prophecies of Isaiah.—*Praetorius*, 1) Hebrew Grammar, 2) Arabic Grammar, 3) Hariri's Dura, 4) Ethiopic. *Fränkel*, 1) Elements of Syriac, 2) Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, 3) Annals of Tabarî.
- ERLANGEN:** *Köhler*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Genesis, 3) In Seminar, Ecclesiastes.—*Spiegel*, 1) Arabic Grammar, 2) Modern Persian Grammar.
- FREIBURG:** *König*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Biblical Archæology.
- GIESSEN:** *Stade*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Isaiah, 3) In Old Testament Seminar, Jeremiah with written productions.
- GOETTINGEN:** *Bertheau*, 1) Psalms, 2) Old Testament Seminar, 3) Syriac. *Duhm*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Genesis. *de Lagarde*, 1) Psalms, 2) Syriac or Arabic. *Shultz*, Isaiah.—*Wüstenfeld*, Arabic Grammar.
- GREIFSWALD:** *Giesebrecht*, 1) Psalms, 2) Minor Prophets. *Meinhold*, Old Testament Introduction.—*Ahlwardt*, 1) Arabic Grammar, 2) Persian Grammar, 3) Muallakât.
- HALLE:** *Riehm*, 1) History of Text of Old Testament, and the critical and hermeneutical methods pertaining to it, 2) Isaiah I.—XXXIX., 3) Introduction to the

* Long dashes stand between Theological and Philosophical Faculties.

canonical Books of the Old Testament, 4) Old Testament Seminar. *Schlottmann*, 1) Messianic Prophecies of Old Testament, 2) Genesis, 3) Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments, 4) Exegetical Exercises.——*Gosche*, 1) Connection between the Oriental and Occidental Culture, 2) Elements of Arabic compared with Hebrew, 3) Hamâza, 4) History of the literature of Islam.

HEIDELBERG: *Menz*, 1) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 2) Isaiah, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Kneucker*, Genesis.——*Weil*, 1) Muallakât of Lebid, with exercises in reading Arabic MSS. 2) Exposition of "Thousand and one Nights" with exercises in modern-Arabic conversation, 3) Persian, 4) Gesellschaft devoted to Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages and Literature. *Eisenlohr*, 1) Egyptian Texts, 2) Topographical description of Egypt.

JENA: *Hilgenfeld*, Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments. *Siegfried*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Isaiah, 3) Exercises in Old Testament Seminar. *Schmiedel*, 1) Old Testament Exercises, 2) Elementary Exercises in Hebrew.——*Stickel*, 1) Hebrew Exercises, 2) Chaldee, 3) Syriac, 4) Arabic Grammar and Writings.

KIEL: *Klostermann*, 1) Job, 2) Minor Prophets, 3) Exercises in Old Testament Seminar. *Baethgen*, 1) Hebrew Exercises, 2) History of the Jews from Cyrus to Hadrian.——*Hoffmann*, 1) Hebrew Syntax, 2) Isaiah, 3) Syriac or Arabic, 4) Modern Persian.

KÖNIGSBERG: *Sommer*, 1) Genesis, 2) Psalms, 3) The political and civil Antiquity of Israel.——*Mueller*, 1) Chaldee Portions of the Old Testament with outlines of Chaldee Grammar, 3) Hebrew Grammar with exercises, 3) Arabic Grammar.

LEIPZIG: *Delitzsch, Franz*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Genesis, 3) In Prediger-Gesellschaft I., The History in the last of Genesis and first of Exodus, 4) In Institutum Judaicum, Biblical Chaldee and Targum, 5) In Anglo-American Exegetical Gesellschaft, "Volksreligion und Weltreligion" of Kuenen. *Baur*, Pre-exilic Minor Prophets. *Guthe*, 1) Psalms, 2) Topography and History of Jerusalem, 3) Modern Palestine, its inhabitants, religion and culture, 4) In Old Testament Gesellschaft, the most important Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament. *Ryssel*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Isaiah LIII., and the History of its Interpretation. *König*, 1) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament. 2) In Society of Old Testament Exegesis and Biblical Theology, Interpretation of the Old Testament Passages quoted in the New Testament.——*Fleischer*, The Koran according to Beidhâwi. *Krehl*, 1) Arabic Grammar of Socin, with exercises in translating easy passages, 2) Muallakât, edition of Arnold, 3) Dillmann's Ethiopic Chrestomathy. *Ebers*, 1) The Writings and Grammar of the Language of Egypt, 2) History of the Pharaonic Kingdom down to the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes. *Delitzsch, Frdr.* 1) Koran, 2) Introduction into the whole realm of investigation in the cuneiform inscriptions, together with Inscription of 3d ed. of the "*Assyrische Lesestuecke*," 3) Cursory reading of the Old Testament with a brief explanation of the Books of Kings and Psalms I.-XLI., 4) Persian Grammar, with Interpretation of Gulistan.

MARBURG: *Graf von Baudissin*, 1) Geography of Palestine, 2) Biblical Theology of Old Testament, 3) In Theological Seminar, Interpretation of Isa. xv. sq.

- Cornill*, Old Testament Introduction. *Kessler*, 1) Genesis, 2) Chaldee Grammar of Bible and Targum, with reading of Daniel. *Rankke*, Messianic Prophecies of the Prophets.—*Wellhausen*, 1) Elements of Arabic, Socin's Grammar, 2) Syriac, Rödiger's Chrestomathy, 3) Ethiopic, Dillmann's Chrestomathy, 4) Ibn Hischam's Sira interpreted.
- MUNICH: *Schönfelder*, 1) Genesis, 2) Old Testament Introduction, 3) Hebrew, with exercises, 4) Syriac, with exercises.—*Hommel*, 1) Continuation of Persian, reading of selected portions of Nizami and Anvari Sohailli, 2) Reading of Muallakât continued, 3) The cultivated plants and domestic animals among the Semitic peoples. *Lauth*, 1) History of Egyptology, 2) The more difficult chapters of the Book of the Dead, 3) Papyrus Anastasi I. *Bezold*, 1) Syriac for beginners, 2) Assyrian, 3) Arabic continued, Houtsma's Ja'qûbî, Part II.
- ROSTOCK: *Bachmann*, 1) Isaiah, 2) History of the Old Covenant.—*Phillippi*, 1) Hebrew Grammar, 2) Chaldee portions of the Old Testament and selected portions of the Targum of the Prophets, 3) Arabic Grammar, with exercises in translation.
- STRASSBURG: *Nowack*, 1) Genesis, 2) Hebrew Seminar for beginners, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Reuss*, Selected portions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.—*Duemichen*, 1) Egyptian Grammar, with translation of hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Course I., 2) Selected hieroglyphic and hieratic Texts, Course II., 3) Geography of old Egypt according to the monuments. *Noeldeke*, 1) Arabic for beginners, 2) Ibn Hischam, Life of Mohammed, 3) Mutanabbi, 4) Syriac. *Euting*, 1) Semitic Inscriptions, first half, 2) Oriental Calligraphy.
- TUEBINGEN: *Kautzsch*, 1) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 2) Job, 3) Kimchi's Mikhlol.—*Socin*, 1) Arabic Authors, 2) Syriac, 3) Genesis.
- WUERZBURG: *Scholz*, 1) Minor Prophets, 2) Hebrew Grammar, with exercises in translation.

Perhaps of no less moment or interest may be the Old Testament and Semitic lectures as given in the Universities of Switzerland during the winter. They are as follows:—

- BASEL: *Smend*, 1) General and special Introduction into the Old Testament, 2) Prophecies of Isaiah, 3) Old Testament Seminar. *Orelli*, 1) 1 Samuel, 2) Arabic, 3) Old Testament Conservator.
- BERNE: *Oettli*, 1) Job, 2) Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 3) Syriac. *Steck*, Arabic.
- GENEVA: *X*, 1) Psalms I.-XLII., 3, 2) Old Testament Introduction, 3) History of the Old Testament Text and critical helps thereto, 4) Hebrew Grammar, 5) Genesis XVI.-XVIII.—*Montet*, 1) Arabic, 2) History of Arabic Literature.
- LAUSANNE: *Vuilleumier*, 1) Selected Messianic Passages, 2) Selected Psalms, 3) History of the Text and the most important translations of the Old Testament, 4) Biblical History of the Old Testament, 5) Hebrew Grammar: Weak Verbs, 6) Hebrew Syntax with written exercises, 7) Reading and Interpretation of Judg. XVII.-XVIII., and 1 Sam. IV.-VII.
- NEUCHÂTEL: *Ladame*, 1) History of Israel from earliest times down to the establishment of the kingdom, 2) Biblical Archæology, social and religious life of Israel. *Perrochet*, 1) Pentateuch Criticism, 2) 2 Sam. XIV.-XXIV. and Isa. XLIX.-LVII., 3) Hebrew Grammar, 4) Hebrew, reading and exercises.

ZÜRICH: *Steiner*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Genesis, 3) Theological Seminar: Exegetical exercises in 1 Sam., 4) Arabic, Course I., 5) Arabic, Course II., Arnold's Chrestomathy. *Egli*, 1) The Alexandrian Version of the Pentateuch, 2) Exercises in Old Testament Interpretation. *Heidenheim*, 1) Biblical Archæology. 2) Syriac.

Compare the two lists given above. The Lectures of the six Universities of Switzerland are certainly few as compared with those of the twenty Universities of Germany. But the variety of subjects treated is almost as great as in Germany. The range of topics, however, does not follow entirely the beaten path of Germany. We find in the Swiss Universities a course of lectures on Pentateuch Criticism, a subject not handled in any German University lecture; also one on History of Israel and another on Biblical History, important and much neglected topics.

The beaten path of exegesis in Germany is very plain from a careful reading of its lectures. The three favorite and principal books almost always appear,—Genesis, Psalms and Isaiah, while now and then Job, Proverbs and the Minor Prophets receive attention. But where are Ezekiel and Jeremiah and Deuteronomy? Jeremiah is treated in *one* Gesellschaft, and some selections of it and Ezekiel are taken up at Strassburg. That is the extent of work on these books represented in lectures. Messianic Prophecy, as such, is treated in two institutions. Biblical Archæology appears just once in German and twice in Swiss institutions. The History of the Text, a sadly neglected subject, appears in two German and in as many Swiss Universities. Old Testament Introduction occupies a large place in both countries, being found in twelve German and three Swiss Universities. Likewise, Old Testament Theology is a large claimant, being found in seven German Universities and but one Swiss institution. Biblical Hermeneutics appears but *once*, and that in Halle in connection with History of text of the Old Testament. Whether the grounds of German exegesis are so firmly established that they need no repairing, or whether the condition of the criticism question has so disarranged the old "order of things" that an attempt to repair at present would not be advisable, does not at once appear. At least, the number of exegetes does not seem to diminish, nor does the appearance of the usual number of new exegetical works wane.

From a careful comparison and study of the lectures as given, one can see exactly the trend of study in Germany, if the lectures represent the work done. But this latter could scarcely be otherwise, as most of the progressive Old Testament workers are members of one or the other University faculties.

For students of the Old Testament will shortly appear in Freiburg, among a lot of theological works: "Old Testament Introduction" by Prof. Budde in Bonn, and "Old Testament Theology" by Prof. Smend in Basel.

In the public library at St. Petersburg there has lately been discovered a manuscript of the Pentateuch with the Arabic translation of Saadia Gaon. It probably belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century.

A few prominent promotions and one change have taken place among the faculties connected with Old Testament and Semitic study.

Dr. Heinrich Thorbecke, Prof. extraordinary of Arabic in Heidelberg, has been called to Halle.

Privatdocent Hommel of Munich has been made Prof. extraordinary, to fill the chair of Oriental Languages and Literature made vacant by the death of Prof. Trumpp.

Dr. Ferd. Mühlau, Prof. ordinary of exegetical Theology in Dorpat, has received the degree of Doctor of Theology from the University of Leipzig.

Privatdocenten Guthe, Ryssel and König have been made Professors extraordinary in the Old Testament department of the Theological faculty of the University of Leipzig.

Dr. Frdr. Delitzsch, Prof. extraordinary of Assyriology, has been made Prof. ordinary honorary, in the University of Leipzig.

Leipzig, December 5th, 1885.

➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

Qamhi.—In an article in the *HEBRAICA* for October, 1884, I wrote the name of the celebrated grammarian as Qamhi, not Qimhi, basing it upon three MSS. of the **מכלול**, in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale*, in which the name was vocalized **קִמְחִי**, and referring (p. 82, note 2) to the discussion in the London *Athenæum*, of March 22d, 1884. In a "Notiz" in the *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, for November, Dr. M. Steinschneider says that he has found the name **קמחי** in Arabic (vol. II. of the Catalogue of Oriental MSS. in the Bodleian Library, p. 568) in the Arabic form **ألكمحي**, and that this is vocalized by Uri and Pusey as *Alcamahi*. Dr. Steinschneider is, however, seemingly unconvinced. At all events, he continues to write the name "Kimchi."

CYRUS ADLER,
Johns Hopkins University.

On Genesis I., 1-3.—A friend has pointed out to me that, in the Note published in *HEBRAICA*, October, 1885, p. 49, I have made no reference to Wellhausen's theory, described in *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1883) p. 411. In fact, the Note was in substance written before the star of this acute critic had risen upon the horizon. Wellhausen bluntly calls the Ewaldian view of the construction "verzweifelt;" it is certainly out of character with the rest of the narrative. The difficulty about the omission of the article in **בְּרֵאשִׁית** (if we choose to retain that punctuation) does not strike me as a very serious one. (Delitzsch, I observe, renders *ἐν ἀρχῇ* John I., 1, by **בְּרֵאשִׁית**). I have referred already to **מִרְאשִׁית** in Isa. XLVI., 10. And if this be designated poetry, why is Gen. I. to be called prose? Doubtless in plain narrative style we should expect — **כִּי**, though rather **בְּרֵאשִׁינָה** than **בְּרֵאשִׁית** (as Dr. A. McCaul long ago observed): the latter indeed might have suggested wrongly that the creation mentioned in the verse was the first in a series of creative acts. Wellhausen's remark, so ingenious, so plausible, in *Geschichte Israels* (1878) I., 399, that the temporal sense of **רֵאשִׁית** is borrowed from Aramaic, has been justly criticized by Prof. Driver (*Journal of Philology*, XI., 232, note), who also maintains,—and he is probably right,—that **ר** in the temporal sense occurs as early as Hosea (IX., 10). The difference in form between the parallel passages in Wellhausen is very interesting; it shows how carefully he revised his work.

PROF. T. K. CHEYNE,
Oxford, England.

A Prayer in Hebrew.—It occurred to Mr. Benjamin Douglass, of Chicago, one of the Lecturers during the session of the Summer School, that it might stimulate some of the students to the more earnest study of the Holy Tongue if he should offer the usual opening prayer in Hebrew: and he accordingly thought out and spoke the prayer which follows. As a further incitement he has added the accents.

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֶׁמֶר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֲסֵד לְכָל-
 אֲהַבָּה הוֹרִינוּ לָךְ : אַתָּה הוּא הָאֵב הַבֵּן וְרוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ יְהוָה אַחֵר :
 קָדוֹשׁ י קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עוֹד יִמְלֹא כְבוֹדָךְ אֶת-כָּל-הָאָרֶץ :
 אֲנַחְנוּ חַטָּאִים נוֹלַדְנוּ וְגַם-חַטָּאִנוּ וְעוֹנֵינוּ הִרְשָׁעְנוּ וּמִרְדְּנוּ וּמִכַּף-רִגְלֵנוּ
 וְעַד-רֹאשׁ אֵין-מָתוֹם לָנוּ : אֲכַל הַשְׂמִיחָתָנוּ כִּי אֲהַבְתָּנוּ וַתִּשְׁלַח בְּנֶךְ יְחִידְךָ
 וַיָּמָת בְּעַבְדֵינוּ : בְּדַבְרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יֵשׁוּעַ הַמָּשִׁיחַ הָאֲדוֹן לְתַלְמִידָיו
 נִתְפַּלֵּל : אָבִינוּ אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׁמַיִם יְקָדֵשׁ שְׁמֶךָ : תָּבֵא מַלְכוּתְךָ יְהִי רְצוֹנְךָ
 כָּאֲשֶׁר בְּשָׁמַיִם כֵּן גַּם בָּאָרֶץ : לֶחֶם חֲקֵנוּ תֵן לָנוּ הַיּוֹם : וְסַלַּח לָנוּ אֶת-
 חַבְתֵינוּ כָּאֲשֶׁר אֲנַחְנוּ סוֹלְחִים לְכָל-בָּעָלִי חוֹבֵינוּ : וְאַל תְּבִיאֵנוּ לְמִסָּה כִּי
 אִם-הִצִּילָנוּ מִן-הָרָע כִּי לָךְ הַמַּמְלָכָה וְהַנְּבוּרָה וְהַתְּפִאָּרֶת עוֹלָמִי עוֹלָמִים
 אָמֵן :

A Note on the Relative (אֲשֶׁר).—It might easily be inferred from a note by Professor Sayce, in *HEBRAICA*, October, 1885, that to that distinguished author must be referred the suggestion that אֲשֶׁר originally meant "place," corresponding to the Semitic words which contain this meaning. A few quotations will correct this impression :—

Says Professor Sayce in his *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* (1872), "Sa must not be connected with אֲשֶׁר (= אַתָּר, ašaru, like So place, which, in Chinese) while the Phœnician אַש (š) is probably אִישׁ" (pp. 45, 46).

Mühlau did not make his similar comparison for the first time in 1878, when the 8th ed. of Gesenius's *Lexicon* appeared, but, at that time, simply added "Ass. ašar" (which, however, Norris had connected with אַתָּר in his *Assyrian Dict.*, published in 1868) to the number of related words which he had named twelve years before. He had said, in his edition of Böttcher (1866), "Anders verhält es sich, wenn man, was mir das Wahrscheinlichste, אֲשֶׁר mit Chald. אַתָּר, Syr. ʾašr Ort, Arab. ʾašr vestigium, Spur combinirt. אֲשֶׁר wäre dann ein ursprüngliches Nomen im allgemeinen Sinne von Ort, vgl. unser vulgäres relatives wo;" and he does not claim to be the first to say so.

Indeed Tsepregi had furnished a pretty strong hint in the same direction. Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus* (1835) says : "Tsepregi in diss. Lugd. p. 171, relationis notionem ducit a signo et vestigio, coll. ʾašr et ʾašr vestigium, signum, hinc ʾašr post." (p. 165).

Whether the last was the earliest suggestion which has been published, the present writer cannot say. Nor was it suited to his purpose, in *HEBRAICA*, April, 1885, to use any of the passages here quoted. It seemed best to select Hommel as the representative of an opposing view, because the latter had said more than any one known to him in argument for that view, and had attempted

to show, from Semitic usage, that such a view was tenable. Similarly, Kautzsch speaks in 1885: "Nach F. Hommel in ZDMG., Bd. 32, S. 108 ff. ist אִשְׁר als ursprüngl. Subst. zu trennen von אִשְׁר und אִשְׁר als ursprüngl. Pronominalstamm," etc. (Heb. Gram., p. 309).

For the opinion that אִשְׁר is prosthetic, good names may be cited. So Böttcher (*Lehrbuch* I., p. 79); Schröder (*Phoen. Sprache*, p. 90); König (*Lehrgebäude*, p. 140). Schröder speaks also of אִשְׁר as "eine jüngere Weiterbildung aus dem ursprünglicheren אִשְׁר," etc. (p. 162), of "das noch primitivere אִשְׁר," etc. (p. 163), and of *ys* Relativ bei Plautus aus ursprüngl. אִשְׁר" (p. 128). For the final *r*, may be compared the Coptic equivalents, *mu sa r* and *mu s*, *š tu fa r* and *š tu f*,* where the first noun of each of the pairs can hardly be regarded as compound.

The difficulty of supposing that אִשְׁר is to be connected with אֶתֶר and its cognates is well stated by König, p. 140: "Es scheint mir demnach zu sehr der Analogie zu entbehren, wenn man אִשְׁר mit Aram. אֶתֶר (*Ort*), Arab. أَثَر (*Spur*) identificirt. Und obschon die oftmalige Verbindung von אִשְׁר מְקוֹם אִשְׁר sich bei dem Erlöschen jedes Bewusstseins von diesem Ursprunge des אִשְׁר verstehen liesse; so wäre es doch zu auffallend, dass die Hebräer bald dasjenige Wort (אִשְׁר) zum Relativum selbst gemacht hätten, dessen Aram. Aequivalent אֶתֶר so oft vor dem Relativpronomen erscheint."

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* These words are selected upon the authority of Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, p. 53, Leipzig, 1880.

➤EDITORIAL: NOTES.◀

The Study of the Hebrew Vowel-System.—American students have given far too little attention to the Hebrew vowel-system. Until the appearance of Bickell's *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar** in an English translation and of Davidson's *Elementary Hebrew Grammar*,† there was really nothing in the English language from which one could obtain a clear idea of the relative value of the Hebrew vowel-sounds. Bickell's *Outlines*, however, is too advanced for a beginner, while Davidson's *Elements*, although an elementary treatise, is often obscure and not well arranged. Gesenius' grammar in its present form‡ is perhaps the best in use. With successive editions, however, it has become a conglomerate mass of material,—a mine from which much that is of value may be obtained, but only by digging.

Although Gesenius and Davidson have been studied in America for so many years, the impression produced upon the minds of their students, at least so far as concerns the vowel-system, have been very indefinite. The ordinary student, who has given attention during three years to the Hebrew language, knows almost nothing of the vowel-system. The chief practical result of a greater part of the Hebrew instruction given in this country, has been to create the feeling that the vowel-signs and points of the Hebrew Bible are a complete jumble; and consequently the mass of our students, discouraged and hopeless, have thrown aside the study, although a sufficient amount of time had been devoted to it to enable them to master the language.

Many students, and not a few teachers, have endeavored to justify their neglect of this important part of the work upon the ground that the vowel-system, as we have it, is wholly the work of the Massorites, and is uncertain, artificial, arbitrary. We may remark briefly:—

1. However unreliable the Massoretic system may be in its application to given words, as between two or more pointings for that word, the particular pointing in question is consistent with the general laws of the vowel-system. E. g., the Massorites may have pointed the consonants דָּבָר, דִּבֵּר, when it should have been דִּבֶּר, or דִּבְרָה, or דִּבְרָה; but their mistake, if it is a mistake, is one of interpretation, not necessarily one of grammatical form. So far as the language is concerned, any one of these forms is, in itself, correct. The pointing was in no sense an arbitrary one. They may have been entirely wrong in their division of

* **OUTLINES OF HEBREW GRAMMAR**, by Gustavus Bickell, D. D., Professor of Theology at Innsbruck, revised by the author, and annotated by the translator, Samuel Ives Curtiss, Jr. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.. 1877.

† **AN INTRODUCTORY HEBREW GRAMMAR** with progressive exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. Davidson, M. A., LL. D., Prof. of Hebrew, etc., in the New College Edinburgh. 7th ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1885.

‡ That is, the last edition issued under Prof. Edward C. Mitchell, D. D., published (in 1884) by W. F. Draper, Andover. Not all Hebrew students in this country seem to be aware of the fact that in this edition pp. 203-210 are entirely new pages. The treatment of noun-formation here given us is vastly superior to the old treatment.

words and in their choice of vowel-points, but a hundred thousand such mistakes would not in the least affect the scientific value of the vowel-points in reproducing the words as they were spoken. However corrupt, therefore, the results of scientific research may show the Massoretic *text* to be, the Massoretic *system* of punctuation, as a system, will remain, in general, *untouched*.

2. The Massoretic vowel-system is the starting-point. He who would learn Hebrew must master the principles in accordance with which this system is used. When one comes to look into it he finds, instead of confusion, the most wonderful order; instead of arbitrariness, the most marked scientific regularity. The study of the system soon reduces itself to the study of phonetics, and the laws of human speech which hold good every-where. The beginner soon discovers that a given original sound, placed under certain conditions, suffers certain changes. The study of the Hebrew vowel-system becomes, in short, a mathematical study. It is no longer a matter of memory, but a thing to be reasoned out. Is it not worth our while, in view of this, to teach and to study the vowel-system until we shall have mastered it, in its details and in the great principles which regulate these details? Here, and only here, is the basis for all efficient work in the study of Hebrew.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

To Hebrew Students.—The constituency of *HEBRAICA* includes two classes: 1) Hebrew professors and scholars; 2) Hebrew students. For the latter class, which includes a large number of persons who are endeavoring, in the midst of other pressing duties, to acquire a living knowledge of Hebrew, this note is written.

HEBRAICA is intended to furnish help to you as well as to those who have become professional scholars. The managing editor acknowledges, however, that the Journal has not in the past furnished altogether that kind of material from which you could gain most profit. Scholars write, more easily, for scholars than for students. The present number, containing, as it does, a fair proportion of both kinds of articles, will serve, it is hoped, as a stepping-stone to future numbers which we shall try to make even more satisfactory to you.

In this number the *student*, as distinguished from the scholar, even if he has been a student for but a short time, will surely find much that is of interest in the articles of Professor Briggs, Dr. Ward, and Professor Haupt; while in the shorter articles and notes, particularly in Professor Gardiner's suggestions, Prof. Taylor's resumé, Prof. Brown's note on *שְׁמִי*, and in the Hebrew prayer of Mr. Douglass, a large portion of which will be found quite familiar, there is valuable and stimulating matter for those even who are beginners. The attention of *students* is especially invited to the notice of Prof. Strack's new Hebrew grammar.

Matters stand thus. Unless the *students* of Hebrew will aid in supporting *HEBRAICA*, and their aid cannot be expected if the Journal does not contain material which will help them, the Journal cannot continue. It is a sad fact, yet a true one, that America has not a sufficient number of Semitic *scholars* to support a distinctively linguistic journal. We trust, therefore, that in our effort, the *students* will render excellent aid. In turn, we shall do every thing possible to repay them for their sympathy and co-operation.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

➤BOOK ❖ NOTICES.◀

[Any publication noticed in these pages may be obtained of the AMERICAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF HEBREW, Morgan Park, Ill.]

A CRITICISM OF DRIVER'S HEBREW TENSES.*

This brochure is from the pen of a layman, a gentleman who, amid the demands of large business interests, has made the study of Hebrew and of prophecy the employment of his leisure, and has acquired a very wide knowledge of his subjects.

Mr. Douglass is among those who hold that the primary distinction of the Hebrew tenses is that of past and present time, and not of complete and incomplete action, as is maintained by a discussion of the passages used by Driver in illustrating the use of the tenses as he holds them. It is held that the frequentative use of the Future (Imperfect) expresses the use of the tenses in many of the cases where it has been rendered by a simple past. F. J. GURNEY.

AN UNPOINTED TEXT OF GENESIS.†

Many teachers have felt the need of an unpointed text of at least one book of the Old Testament. Genesis, being the Hebrew "first reader," may be most appropriately chosen for this purpose. To one who has not practised reading the unpointed text, the work may seem unimportant, and the results of small consequence. There is, however, no better way of teaching Hebrew grammar, no better way of teaching the language, than to require of the student the pronunciation of the Massoretic text, with only the unpointed text before his eyes. Professor Haupt's suggestion in this number (p. 99) that difficult words be pointed, or partially pointed, is a good one. The book has no distinctive features. The type is good; the paper, fair. It is especially a class-room book.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

THE EARLY CHAPTERS OF GENESIS.‡

The discussion in Old Testament criticism started by Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* is still carried on in Germany, and the interest in the Pentateuch shows no sign of abatement. If any one topic might seem to be worn threadbare, it would be the composition of the Book of Genesis, especially its early chapters; for these chapters have been more closely scrutinized than others, be-

* A LETTER TO PROFESSORS, SCHOLARS, AND FRIENDS OF THE HOLY TONGUE; criticising Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, etc. By Benjamin Douglass. Chicago: Published by the author, 1885. Pp. 12.

* LIBER GENESIS. Sine punctis exscriptus. Curaverunt Ferdinandus Muehlau, et Aemilius Kautzsch, editio altera. Lipsiae: impensis Joannis Ambrosii Barth. 1885. Pp. 78. M. 1.80.

* DIE BIBLISCHE URGESCHICHTE (Gen. i.-xii., 5) untersucht von Lic. Karl Budde. Giessen 1883. Pages xii and 539, 8vo.

cause they, more than almost any others, show the distinct phenomena on which the documentary hypothesis is based. Nevertheless, the volume before us shows that these chapters still afford a field for new and ingenious speculation, if nothing more. The present reviewer confesses that he took up the book with the impression that it could not say any thing new, and at the same time valuable, on its theme. In this he has been agreeably disappointed; and while the minuteness of the analysis often leads one to question its certainty, there is much in the book that is not only interesting but profitable.

The problems of Old Testament criticism are two,—first, to separate as clearly as possible the different documents; secondly, to determine their relation in general, and their order of time in particular. All who concede the right of literary analysis of the Pentateuch must admit further discussion of both these problems. Whatever danger to the “views commonly received among us” arises from such analysis can hardly be greater for one succession of documents (for one order of time, that is) than for another. Professor Budde argues for the later date of the Elohist (A of Dillman, Q of Wellhausen). That fact, in itself, does not render his book more suspicious than Dillmann’s (for example) who prefers the reverse order.

Instead of giving a running commentary on this section of Genesis, our author gives us twelve topical discussions, with the following titles: (1) the Marriages of the Sons of God, (2) the Tree of Life, (3) the Sethite Genealogy, (4) the Cainite Genealogy, (5) Jahvistic Fragments in the Sethite Genealogy, (6) Cain’s Fratricide, (7) Conclusion of this section, (8) the Flood, (9) Noah and Canaan, (10) Babel and Nimrod, (11) Home and Migration of Abraham, (12) Relation of the Documents to each other. In the whole inquiry, his eye is mainly directed to the Jehovistic document, on the supposition that the Elohist narrative is already tolerably well settled. As an appendix, he gives the Hebrew Text of the oldest part of the Jehovistic document (J¹ he calls it, with Wellhausen), as he supposes himself able to restore it. It includes Gen. II., 4b, to IV., 2; IV., 16-24; VI., 1-4; X., 9; XI., 1-9; IX., 20-27, arranged in this order; and the author proposes to transfer the difficult verse VI., 3 from its present location, inserting it after III., 21.

The analysis can hardly count on universal acceptance, in the present divided state of opinion. No one, however, can follow the investigation without feeling that the author has carefully studied his text, with an earnest desire to solve the literary problem it presents. Many of his observations are of real value, aside from his critical theory. For example, the following on the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil:

“It is constantly made evident how heaven-wide the biblical narratives (steeped as they are in Israel’s knowledge of God) are removed from the myths of Assyria, however like they may superficially seem to be. . . . The Tree of Life is found among many peoples. . . . and we may believe that it occurs in the Assyrian literature. But the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil has never yet been discovered there, and we may well believe that it never will be discovered. The cylinder published in Smith’s *Chaldean Genesis*, and now in Delitzsch’s *Wo lag das Paradies*, may be briefly examined here.”

The description and argument that follow are too long to quote. They show convincingly that there is no evidence for the identification of the Assyrian tree with the biblical; and the conclusion is that the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil is original to the biblical account; and this means that the biblical account is distinguished by the *ethical* element.

The author's exegesis seems in general sound, and his occasional proposals to alter the text are called forth by real difficulties. He supposes, for example, that the verse Gen. VI., 7, is corrupt. It now reads, "And Jehovah said: I will wipe out man which I have created from the face of the ground, *from man to cattle, to reptile and to bird of the heavens*; for I repent that I made them." The words in italics are not in accordance with the rest of the verse. They are probably not a part of the original narrative therefore.

Another difficult verse is Gen. IX., 26, though the difficulty is of another kind. We now read:

"And he said: Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants may he be to his brethren.

And he said: Blessed be Jehovah God of Shem, and Canaan shall be servant to him.

May God prosper Japhet, and may he dwell in the tents of Shem, and may Canaan be servant to him."

The grammar seems to be right, but the thought is not so clear. In the first place we expect Shem, the ancestor of Israel, to receive a blessing, but he receives none. In the second member we read only "Blessed be Jehovah." In this same verse, "Canaan shall be servant to him" would naturally mean Canaan shall be servant to Jehovah, who is the main subject. In view of these facts, Dr. Budde proposes to omit one word, and with a slight change of pointing to read:

"The Blessed of Jehovah is Shem,
And let Canaan be servant to him."

This would certainly meet all the requirements, and may be called at least plausible.

Enough has been said to prove our assertion that there is room for new and ingenious speculation in the territory under discussion. That the ingenuity is sometimes too ingenious will be readily discovered. The paragraph (p. 184 sq.) in which our author accounts for the story of Cain's fratricide is a striking example. Readers will, therefore, exercise a healthy scepticism in regard to many passages; and such a scepticism is what the author himself would desire. He himself exercises it in regard to many assertions of his teacher Wellhausen. He declines, for example, to accept Wellhausen's hypothesis that the original narrative of the Creation made God's work cover seven days, leaving no Sabbath. So with the current tendency to derive the primeval history of the Bible from Assyrian (Assyro-Babylonian) sources. We have already noted one example of this in regard to the Tree of Knowledge. Another concerns the first chapter of Genesis, in regard to which he decidedly rejects "the neck-breaking conjecture that the biblical account was borrowed [from the Babylonians] during the Exile" (p. 292).

Dr. Budde closes his book with a protest against the accusation that the Higher Criticism aims at "a barren naturalistic construction of history, arranged according to the principles of an infidel philosophy which allows the possibility of raw evolution processes only." For his own part, he adds "that the results of this inquiry cannot harm the Christian faith is my firm conviction, because I have not dropped 'the anchor of my faith and hope in the sandy shallows of theory' or of any traditional view of the *aetas patriarchalis et Mosaica*, but have learned, and am minded to cast it elsewhere." "The Revelation of God in Israel shows itself in our inquiry at every step... in the purifying power which Israel's knowledge of God demonstrates on all the material which is appropriated thereby."

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PROFESSOR STRACK'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.*

A review of the *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, published in *The Hebrew Student*, Vol. II., pp. 126, 127, closed with these words: "These hand-books have received deservedly the highest commendations of linguistic critics. They supply a demand which exists and which is all the while increasing. Our only wish is that a translation of these, or a similar series, might be published in English." With this we compare the publisher's announcement: "To meet many wishes, the parts which appear from the year 1885 either altogether new, or in a new edition, will be published at the same time in two languages, German and English, or German and Latin, the Latin being employed only in special cases."

Thus far only two English versions have appeared: (1) an Arabic Grammar, from the pen of one of the greatest living Arabic authorities, Professor A. Socin, and (2) the Hebrew Grammar of Professor H. L. Strack, which lies before us. The series was at first edited by Prof. J. H. Petermann (died in 1876), but is now under the editorial charge of Prof. Strack.

The grammar is intended for students wishing to prepare themselves in the shortest possible time for attendance upon the easier exegetical lectures.

The peculiar features of the volume are (1) the taking of the vocabulary from Genesis and the Psalms; (2) the allowing in the grammar only those forms which actually occur in the Bible; (3) the transcribing in italics of hypothetical forms adduced to explain the origin of forms in use, and (4) the peculiar arrangement of the paradigms of weak verbs in order to prevent a mechanical learning by rote. These features must certainly commend themselves to students. The great bane of grammatical study is the mechanical memorizing of a paradigm.

Besides the grammar proper (pp. 1-150) there are 67 pp. of paradigms, literature and exercises. The "literature" is very valuable.

While the treatment accorded the various points as they come up is, of necessity, very brief, it is surprising to see that so much material of an advanced character, fundamental in its nature, could have been included in so small a space. Many interesting statements occur which one does not meet in the grammars ordinarily used. We refer briefly to a few of these statements which will be of interest to many who do not have access to the book:

1) ֿ is also used to indicate the open *e*-sound ê or ä arising by vocalic modification (*Umlautung*) out of *a*, e. g., זֶרַע *zêra'* (from *zar'*, § 28*d*), רֵאִינָה *r'ênā* (§ 74*g*).

2) Instead of the long and involved statement concerning the occurrence of ֿ at the end of a word, generally in use, Prof. Strack sums up the matter by saying that it occurs at the end of a word "when the word ends in ך or in two consonants."

3) Syllables are (a) open, (b) shut, (c) *opened* (i. e., syllables whose originally double close has been removed by a helping vowel), (d) *loosely shut* (i. e., those which were originally followed by a vowel which has been dropped). Examples of *opened* syllables are קִישׁ and all Segholates, נֶעֱרַר (= *nā'-rô*); of *loosely shut*

* PORTA LINGUARUM ORIENTALIIUM: HEBREW GRAMMAR with Exercises, Literature and Vocabulary, by Hermann L. Strack, Ph. D., D. D., Professor Extraordinarius of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the Second German Edition. Carlsruhe and Leipzig: H. Reuther. New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1885. Pp. 150, 67.

syllables, the first in כַּנְפִּיהֶם (kān-phê-hēm), the S'wâ under נ being treated as *silent*. Professor Strack's theory of the syllable was published, in detail, in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. I., pp. 73-75.

4) The D. l. in שְׁתִּים is explained on the ground that the punctuation presupposed the pronunciation šštāyīm.

5) When the Hē Interrogative is written ה before gutturals, the guttural is said to have D. f. implied.

6) The Inseparable prepositions before מֵה are said to be pointed with Pāthāh and D. f., as in לְמֵה, בְּמֵה.

7) Section 46 B., on the use of Waw Conjunctive, is especially good, though of course condensed.

8) Instead of "tenses," the word "moods" is used, as being a more suitable term. The terms "Perfect" and "Imperfect" are used rather than "Past" and "Future." "Voice" is used instead of "stem," "species," "conjugation."

9) "The Hebrew verb had its origin in the combination of a noun with the personal pronoun." "The different position of the pronoun (at the end of the Perfect, at the beginning of the Imperfect), is easily intelligible, psychologically; in the completed action we are more particularly interested in the fact; in an action which is not yet completed, we take more interest in the person of the agent."

10) Verbs Middle E and O are termed respectively "verbs with simple intransitive vocalization," and "verbs with strong intransitive vocalization." The passive is indicated (in Pū'āl and Hōph'āl) by the "dark vowel (ū or ō)."

11) The î of the Hīph. Impf., Inf. and Part., is thought to be lengthened from an original ĭ after the analogy of the vowel in יָקִים; while the î of the Hīph. Perf. is thought to have arisen through the influence of that of the Impf. The ĭ of יָעַץ Hīph'il is said to be completely thrust out by the heterogeneous î.

12) The change of ä to é is called (p. 5) a vocalic modification, on p. 114, a half-lengthening (*umlautung*). The peculiar character of this é, as distinct from ě, is thus clearly recognized.

13) Baer's policy of inserting D. l. in consonants other than aspirates is criticized as indefensible and, as carried out, inconsistent. The repetition by Baer of the accents S'ghōltā, Zārqa and the T'lišās is claimed to be without authority. Instead of Q'rî, Q'rê is used as the only correct form.

These are only a few of the items of peculiar interest to which we might call attention. The book is exceedingly free from error. While not all the views presented are entirely acceptable, we find very much that is new and, at the same time, well taken. A few of the questions which have suggested themselves are these: Why is the letter *j* used every-where, in a book for English readers, to represent ' ? Could not a more judicious use of italic type, e. g., in the printing of the English equivalents of Hebrew phrases have been used to advantage? Why is the spelling "genetive" adopted throughout? Is not the change of ĭ to ē or of ŭ to ō better expressed by the term "heighten" than by the indefinite term "lengthen" which applies more particularly to the change of ĭ to î or of ŭ to û? When a full vowel becomes Š'wâ (vocal) is it, strictly speaking, (p. 20) *dropped*? If there is still a sound, is it not merely the change from one sound to another? Not shortening, but volatilization? Is it best to regard אָרֹחַ occurring before מֵן

as a real construct? Even in an elementary treatise, should not the old and ridiculous doctrine of a *union-vowel* be discarded? Is the *e* of the Pŷ'āl (sometimes), Hŷph., Hŷph. and Hŷthp. Inf. abs., ē or ê?

In this work, Dr. Strack has given an indication of the Hebrew learning for which he is so well-known, not only in Europe, but also in America. But more than this, he has indicated his ability as a practical teacher. The book is fresh, vigorous, scientific. There is no student of Hebrew who would not receive great profit from a thorough reading of it. It is a mistake to confine our work to any one grammar. Every author will throw new light on some points. For this work, as well as for the other important services of Prof. Strack, all biblical students are greatly indebted to him.

WILLIAM R. HARPER.

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NO. 3.

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

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II.

PSALMS.

II., 7. "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee."

When the time of the advent of Messiah will be near, then the blessed God will say to him: With him I will make a new covenant. And this is the time when he will acknowledge him as his son, saying "This day have I begotten thee."—*Midrash Tillim*, fol. 3, col. 4.

II., 8. "Ask of me, and I shall give thee," etc.

Rabbi Jonathan said, there are three who used the word "ask" (שאל), viz., Solomon, Ahaz and the King Messiah. Solomon, for it is written, "In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, and God said: Ask what I shall give thee" (1 Kgs. III., 5). Ahaz, for it is written: "Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God" (Isa. VII., 11). King Messiah, for it is written: "Ask of me," etc.—*Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 44.

II., 12. "Kiss the son, lest he be angry."

A king was angry with his subjects. They appeal to his son requesting him to intercede on their behalf before his father. When their wish was complied with, they sang songs of praise to the king. But he rebuked them, saying: Not unto me, but unto my son belongs your thankfulness; for were it not for his sake, my wrath would have destroyed you.—*Midrash Tillim*, fol. 4, col. 2.¹

¹ Not only the ancient Synagogue, but also the rabbis of the middle ages interpreted the second Psalm of the Messiah. Thus *Rasht* († 1105) said: "Our rabbis have explained this psalm with respect to King Messiah." *David Kimchi* († about 1240) says: "Some interpret this psalm of Gog and Magog, and the Messiah is the King Messiah; thus our forefathers have explained this psalm. . . . The Christians interpret it of Jesus, and for this they refer to 'The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son.'" *Aben Ezra* († 1167), who gives a double interpretation, applying either to David or to the Messiah, evidently prefers the Messianic application, and says, "but if it be interpreted of the Messiah, the matter is much clearer."

XVIII., 50. "Great deliverance giveth he to his king; and sheweth mercy to his anointed, to David, and to his seed for evermore."

Rabbi Jehuda, the son of Simeon, said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, the son of Rabbi Isaac, The King Messiah, whether he belong to the living or to the dead, his name is to be David. Rabbi Tanchuma said, I give the reason: it is not written "great deliverance giveth he to his king, and sheweth mercy to his anointed and David," but "to David, and to his seed for evermore."—*Midrash Echa or Lamentations* i., 16.

The rabbis say, The King Messiah, whether he belong to the living or to the dead, his name is to be David. Rabbi Tanchuma proves this from Ps. xviii., 50. Rabbi Joshua said, Tsemach (i. e., branch) will be his name; Rabbi Judan, the son of Rabbi Ibu, said, Menachem (i. e., comforter) will be his name. Rabbi Hanina, the son of Abahu, said, One must not think that they contradict each other, since both names are one and the same thing. The following, narrated by Rabbi Judan, the son of Rabbi Ibu, will prove it: A certain Jew was engaged in ploughing. His ox bellowed. An Arab passing, and hearing the ox bellow, said, Son of a Jew, son of a Jew, loose thy oxen, and loose thy ploughs, for the temple is laid waste. The ox bellowed a second time. The Arab said to him, Yoke thine oxen, and fit thy ploughs, for King Messiah has just been born. The Jew said, What is his name? Menachem (i. e. comforter). He asked further, What is the name of his father? Hezekiah, replied the other. Whence is he? asked the Jew. From the royal palace of Bethlehem-Judah, replied the Arab. At this the Jew sold his oxen and his ploughs, and became a seller of infants' swaddling-clothes. And he went about from town to town till he reached Bethlehem. All women bought of him; but the mother of Menachem bought nothing. When the other women said to her, Mother of Menachem! mother of Menachem! come and buy something for thy son, she replied, I would rather strangle the enemy of Israel, for on that same day on which my son was born, the temple was destroyed. They replied, We hope that as the temple was destroyed for his sake, it will also be rebuilt for his sake. The mother said, I have no money. The Jew replied, What matters it? Buy bargains for him, and if you have no money to-day, after some days I will come back and receive it. When he came back and inquired of the mother after the welfare of the child, she replied: After the time you saw me last, winds and tempests came and snatched him away from me.—*Jerus. Berachoth*, fol. 5, col. 1.¹

XX., 7 (A.V. verse 6). "Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed."

Targum: Now I know that the Lord redeemeth his Messiah.

XXI., 2 (A.V. verse 1). "The king shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord."

Targum: The King Messiah shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord.

¹ A parallel passage is in *Midrash on Lamentations* i., 16, which see further on.

XXI., 3. "Thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head."

An earthly king does not suffer another to use his crown. But in the future God will set his own crown on King Messiah, as it is said: "His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven" (Song of Sol. v., 11), and "thou settest a crown," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus*, sec. 8.

XXI., 5. "Honor and majesty thou hast laid upon him."

God covers the King Messiah with his garment.—*Benidbar Rabba*, or *Midrash on Numbers*, sec. 15.

XXI., 7. "For the King trusteth in the Lord."

Targum: For the King Messiah trusteth in the Lord.¹

XXII., 7. "All they that see me laugh me to scorn, they shoot out the lip, they shake the head."

Our rabbis have handed down: At the time when Messiah comes, he will stand on the roof of the temple and will call to the Israelites, saying: Ye pious sufferers, the time of your redemption is at hand, and if you believe, rejoice over my light, which rises upon you, for it is said: "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee" (Isa. LX., 1). And upon you alone it rises, for it is said: "For behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people" (verse 2). In that same hour, the Holy One, blessed be he! will make rise his light, which is the light of the Messiah and of the Israelites, and all will walk to the light of King Messiah and of Israel, as it is said: "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising" (verse 3). They will come also and lick up the dust under the feet of King Messiah, as it is said: "And lick up the dust of thy feet" (Isa. XLIX., 23). They will come and fall upon their faces before Messiah and before Israel and exclaim: We will be thine and Israel's servants, and each Israelite will have 2800 servants, as it is said: "In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you; for we have heard that God is with you" (Zech. VIII., 23). Rabbi Simeon ben Pasi said: In that hour, the Holy One, blessed be he! lifts up the Messiah to the highest heavens and spreads over him the splendor of his glory before the nations of the world and before the impious Persians. The Holy One then said to him: Ephraim,—Messiah, our righteousness! judge them and do as thy soul pleaseth; for were it not for my compassion which I have shown unto thee in such a degree, they would have soon killed thee at once, as it is said: "Is Ephraim my dear son? Is he a pleasant child? For since I spake against him, I do earnestly remember him still; therefore my bowels are troubled for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the Lord" (Jer. XXXI., 20). Why

¹ That this Psalm was interpreted by the rabbis of the Messiah, is also admitted by Kimchi in his commentary on verse 1.

does he say : I will surely have mercy ? It is written : " I will have mercy," because at the time when he was bound in prison they gnashed with their teeth and twinkled with their eyes and shook their heads and opened their mouths, as it is said : " All they that see me laugh me to scorn, they shoot out the lip, they shake the head," etc. (Ps. xxxii., 7). It is written, " I will surely have mercy " because at the time when he goes forth from prison, not only one kingdom or two kingdoms will surround him, but one hundred and forty kingdoms. But the Holy One, blessed be he ! says to him : Ephraim, Messiah, my righteousness ! be not afraid of them, for all they will die by the breath of thy lips, as it is said, " And with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked " (Isa. xi., 4). The Holy One, blessed be his name ! at once made seven baldachins of precious stones, pearls and emeralds, and through each baldachin flow four streams of wine, milk, honey, and pure balm. The Holy One, blessed be he ! embraces him then in the presence of the righteous, and leads him to the baldachin, and all the righteous see him. The Holy One, blessed be he ! then speaks to them : Righteous ones of the world ! Ephraim, the Messiah, my Righteousness, has not received half of his pains, there is yet *one* measure which belongs to him, and which no eye in the world has seen, as it is said : " An eye hath not seen, O God, beside thee " (Isa. lxiv., 4). In that hour, the Holy One, blessed be he ! calls the North and South and says to them : Accumulate and gather before Ephraim the Messiah, my Righteousness, all kinds of spices of the garden Eden, as it is said : " Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south ; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out," etc. (Song of Sol. iv., 16), and " Arise, shine, for thy light is come " (Isa. lx., 1). In that hour, the Holy One, blessed be he ! says to Zion : Arise. It answered before him : Lord of the Universe ! Stand thou at the head, and I behind thee ! He said : Thou hast spoken very well, for it is said : " Now will I rise, saith the Lord ; now will I be exalted ; now will I lift up myself " (Isa. xxxiii., 10).—*Yalkut on Isa. lx.*, fol. 56, col. 4.

XXII., 15. " My strength is dried up like a potsherd."

When the Son of David will come, they will bring iron sticks and place them on his neck, till his stature is pressed down and he cries and weeps and, lifting up his voice, says : Lord of the Universe ! how much strength have I still ! how much spirit have I yet ! how much breath is still in me, and how many members are there yet ! Am I not of flesh and blood ? At that hour the son of David weeps and says : " My strength is dried up like a potsherd." The Holy One, blessed be he ! then says to him : Ephraim, Messiah, my Righteousness ! Thou hast already taken upon thee this (suffering) since the days of creation ; let thy suffering be like mine which I felt at the time when Nebuchadnezzar, the impious, went up and destroyed my house, and burned the temple, and has banished me and my children among the nations of the world.

By thy life and the life of my head! ever since I have not returned to my throne. And if thou wilt not believe this, behold the dew which is upon my head, as it is said: "For my head is filled with dew" (Song of Sol. v., 2). In that hour Messiah says to him: Lord of the Universe! now my mind has become easier within me, for it is sufficient for the servant to be like his master.
—*Yalkut on Isa. LX.*, fol. 56, col. 4.

XXIII., 5. "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies." God said to the Israelites: In the days of the Messiah, I will prepare before you a table, and the Gentiles, by seeing this, will be confused, as the psalmist says: "Thou preparest," etc., and as the prophet says: "Behold my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty" (Isa. LXV., 13).—*Midrash on Numbers*, sec. 21.

XXXVI., 9. "In thy light shall we see light."

What is meant here? No other light than the light of the Messiah.—*Yalkut* II., fol. 56, col. 3.

XLV., 2. "Thou art fairer than the children of man."

Targum: Thy beauty, O King Messiah, is superior to that of the sons of men.

L., 2. "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined."

There are four appearances. The first in Egypt, for it is said: "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubims, shine forth (Ps. LXXX., 2). The second, at the giving of the law, for it is said: "He shined forth from Mount Paran" (Deut. XXXIII., 2). The third is in the time of Gog and Magog, for it is said: "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself" (Ps. XCIV., 1); and the fourth is in the time of the Messiah, for it is said: "Out of Zion," etc.—*Siphre* (ed. Friedmann) p. 143a.

LXI., 6. "Thou wilt prolong the king's life."

Targum: Thou wilt prolong the days of King Messiah.

In *Pirke Elieser*, c. 19, Adam is thus introduced: God shewed to me David, the son of Jesse, who was to rule in the future; at this I took seventy years of my years of life and gave it to him, as it is said: "Thou wilt prolong the king's life."

LXI., 8. "That I may daily perform my vows."

Targum: And in the day when the King Messiah will be magnified to reign as a King.

LXVIII., 31. "Princes shall come out of Egypt."

Egypt will bring presents to the Messiah. Lest it be thought that he (Messiah) would not accept them from them, the Holy One, blessed be he! said to Messiah "Accept them, for they prepared a reception to my children in Egypt."—*Talmud Pesachim*, fol. 118, col. 2.¹

¹ A similar statement is given in the Midrash on Exodus, sec. 36.

LXXII., 1. "Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son."

Targum: O God, give the decrees of thy judgments to the King Messiah, and thy righteousness to the Son of David the king.

The Midrash on the Psalms refers this to the Messiah, with reference to Isa. xl., 1. 5 (fol. 27, col. 4).

LXXII., 10. "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents," etc.

One of the common people said to Rabbi Hoshaya: In case I tell you a nice thing, would you repeat it in the college in my name? What is it? All the presents which our father Jacob gave to Esau the nations of the world will once return to the King Messiah, as it is said: "The kings of Tarshish," etc. It is not written "they shall bring" (יָבִיאוּ), but "they shall return" (יָשׁוּבוּ). Truly, said Rabbi Hoshaya, Thou hast said a nice thing, and I will publicly repeat it in thy name.—*Midrash on Genesis* or *Bereshith Rabba*, sec. 78.

LXXII., 16. "And there shall be an handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains."

When will this be? In the days of the Messiah.—*Tanchuma*, fol. 79, col. 4.

As the first redeemer fed the people with manna (cf. Exod. xvi., 4), so too will the last Redeemer send manna down, as it is said: "And there shall be," etc.—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* i., 9.

The Talmud refers to our passage in the following manner: Rabban Gamaliel was sitting one day explaining to his disciples that in the future (i. e., Messianic days) a woman will give birth every day; for it is said: "She travails and brings forth at once" (Jer. xxxi., 8). A certain disciple sneeringly said, "There is no new thing under the sun" (Eccles. i., 9). "Come," said the rabbi, "and I will show thee something similar, even in this world;" and he showed him a hen which laid eggs every day. Again Gamaliel sat and expounded that in the future world the trees will bear fruit every day; for it is said: "And it shall bring forth boughs and bear fruit" (Ezek. xvii., 23). As the boughs grow every day, so will the fruit grow every day. The same disciple sneeringly said: "There is nothing new under the sun." "Come," said the rabbi, "and I will show thee something like it even now, in this age;" and he directed him to a caper-berry which bears fruit and leaves at all seasons of the year. Again, as Gamaliel was sitting and expounding to his disciples that the land of Israel in the Messianic age would produce cakes and clothes of the finest wool, for it is said: "There shall be an handful of corn¹ in the earth." That disciple again sneeringly remarked: "There is nothing new under the sun."²—*Talm. Shabbath*, fol. 30, col. 2.

¹ He translates פָּתַת *clothes* from פָּתַח in Gen. xxxvii., 3, 23, and בָּרַךְ he takes to mean food, cake.

² A parallel passage is found *Kethuboth*, fol. 111, col. 2.

LXXII., 17. "His name shall endure for ever; his name shall be continued as long as the sun."

The application of this verse to the Messiah is very often found in the Talmud. Besides the passage already quoted to Gen. XLIX., 10, we read: Seven things were created before the world. These are the Law, for it is said "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before his works of old" (Prov. VIII., 22). Repentance, for it is said: "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world....thou saidst: Return, ye children of men" (Ps. xc., 2, 3). The garden of Eden, for it is said: "And the Lord God planted the garden before (מִקֶּדֶם)" (Gen. II., 8). Hell, for it is said: "For Tophet is ordained of old" (Isa. XXX., 33). The glorious throne, and the site of the sanctuary, for it is said: "The glorious throne called from the beginning, and the place of our sanctuary" (Jer. XVII., 12). The name of the Messiah, for it is said: "His name shall endure for ever, before the sun (existed) his name was Yinnon."¹—*Talm. Pesachim*, fol. 54, col. 1; *Nedarim*, fol. 39, col. 2.

LXXX., 17. "And upon the son of man whom thou madest strong for thyself."

Targum: And upon King Messiah whom thou hast strengthened for thee.

LXXXIV., 9, "And look upon the face of thine anointed."

Targum: And look upon the face of thy Messiah.

LXXXIX., 27. "And I will make him my first-born."

I will make the King Messiah my first-born, for it is written "And I will," etc.

LXXXIX., 51. "Wherewith they have reproached the footsteps of thine anointed."

Rabbi Jannai said: If you see one generation after another blaspheming, expect the feet of the King Messiah, as it is written, "Wherewith they have," etc.—

Midrash on the Song of Solomon II., 13.

XC., 15. "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil."

This passage is quoted twice in *Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1, with refer-

¹ In one of the prayers for the day of atonement we read the following concerning Yinnon, showing that the Synagogue always regarded Yinnon as the Messiah: "Before He created anything, He established His dwelling and Yinnon the lofty armory He established from the beginning, before any people or language. He counselled to suffer His divine presence to rest there, that those who err might be guided into the path of rectitude. Though their wickedness be flagrant, yet hath He caused repentance to precede it when He said: "Wash ye, cleanse yourselves." Though He should be exceedingly angry with His people, yet will the Holy One not awaken all His wrath. We have hitherto been cut off through our evil deeds, yet hast thou, O our Rock! not brought consummation on us. Messiah our Righteousness is departed from us; horror has seized us, and we have none to justify us. He hath borne the yoke of our iniquities, and our transgression, and is wounded because of our transgression, He beareth our sins on His shoulder, that He may find pardon for our iniquities. We shall be healed by His wound, at the time that the Eternal will create Him as a new creature. O bring Him up from the circle of the earth, raise him up from Seir, to assemble us a second time on Mount Lebanon, by the hand of Yinnon."

ence to the Messianic age, in the following manner: A certain Sadducee came to Rabbi Abahu: When will the Messiah come? He replied: When darkness covers this people. He said to him: Will you curse me? He replied: The Scripture writes "For behold the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee" (Isa. LX., 2). Rabbi Elieser says: The days of the Messiah are forty years, because it is said: "Forty years long was I grieved with this generation" (Ps. xcv., 10). Rabbi Eleasar, the son of Asariah, said, Seventy years, for it is said: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of a king" (Isa. xxiii., 15). Who is that strange king? Answer, It is the Messiah. Rabbi says, Three generations, as it is said: "They shall fear thee as long as the sun and moon endure, from generation to generation" (Ps. lxxii., 5). Rabbi Hillel said: There will be no Messiah for Israel, because they have enjoyed him already in the days of Hezekiah. Said Rav Joseph: May God pardon Rabbi Hillel. When was Hezekiah? During the first temple; and Zechariah prophesied during the second temple, and said: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass" (Zech. ix., 9). We have the tradition that Rabbi Elieser said: The days of the Messiah will be forty years. It is written in one place: "And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna" (Deut. viii., 3), and in another place: "Make us glad according to the days" etc. (—showing that the blessedness under the Messiah must be in exact compensation for previous misery). Rabbi Dosa said, Four hundred years, because in one place it is written: "They shall afflict them four hundred years" (Gen. xv., 3), and in another place: "Make us glad according to the days," etc.

Rabbi Berachya said in the name of Hiya: The days of the Messiah will be six hundred years, for it is said: "For as the days of a tree are the days of my people" (Isa. lxxv., 22). The root of a tree lasts 600 years. Rabbi Elieser says, One thousand years, because it is said: "The day of vengeance is in my heart" (Isa. lxxiii., 4). A day of the blessed God is a thousand years. Rabbi Joshua says, Two thousand years, because the Scripture teaches: "Make us glad according to the days," etc. The word "days" signifies at least two days of God.—*Yalkut on Psalm LXXII.*, 5.

XCV., 7. "To-day if ye will hear his voice."

Rabbi Acha said in the name of Rabbi Tanchum, the son of Rabbi Hiya: If the Israelites would only repent one day, the son of David would soon come; this is the explanation of "To-day if ye will hear," etc.—*Jerus. Taanith*, fol. 64, col. 1.

Rabbi Jochanan said: God said to the Israelites, Though I have fixed a certain time for the coming of the Son of David, he will come at that time, whether they repent or do not repent. But when they repent only one day, I will bring him even before that time. This is the meaning of the words: "To-day, if you will hear," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus*, sec. 25.

Rabbi Levi said: If the Israelites would only repent one day, they would be redeemed and the Son of David would immediately come. Why? "For he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. 'To-day if ye will hear his voice.'"—*Midrash on Song of Solomon* v., 2.

Rabbi Joshua, the son of Levi, once found Elijah standing at the door of the cave of Rabbi Simon, the son of Yochaï, and said to him: Shall I attain the world to come? Elijah replied: If it pleaseth to thee, Lord. Rabbi Joshua, the son of Levi, said: I see two, but I hear the voice of three. He also asked: When will Messiah come? Elijah replied: Go and ask himself. And where does he abide? At the gate of the city. And how is he to be known? He is sitting among the poor and sick, and they open their wounds and bind them up again all at once; but he opens only one, and then he opens another, for he thinks, perhaps I may be wanted, and then I must not be delayed. Rabbi Joshua went to him and said: Peace be upon thee, my master and my Lord. He replied, Peace be upon thee, son of Levi. The rabbi then asked him: When will my Lord come? He replied, To-day. Rabbi Joshua went back to Elijah, who asked him: What did he (Messiah) say to thee? He replied, Peace be upon thee, son of Levi; to which Elijah said: By this he has assured thee and thy father of the world to come. Rabbi Joshua said: He has deceived me, for he said to me that he will come to-day, and yet he did not come. Elijah said to him: He said to thee "to-day," that is "to-day if ye will hear his voice."—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1.

CX., 1. "Sit thou at my right hand."

In the future God will seat the King Messiah at his right, for it is said: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand," and Abraham will be seated at the left. And Abraham's face will become pallid and he will say: The son of my son sits at the right and I sit at the left. But the Holy One, blessed be he! will appease him, saying: The son of thy son sits at my right, and I sit at your right hand.—*Midrash on Psalm* XVIII., 35 (36 in Hebrew).

CX., 2. "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion, rule thou in the midst of thine enemies."

In a very curious and mystic interpretation of the pledges which Tamar had, according to Rabbi Hunya, by the Holy Ghost, asked of Judah, our passage and Isa. XI., 1 is referred to. Thus the "seal" is interpreted as signifying the kingdom, as it is said, "Set me as a seal upon thy heart" (Song of Sol. VIII., 6), and "Though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim king of Judah, were the

signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence" (Jer. XXII., 24). The "bracelets" denote the Sanhedrim, which is marked by a lace of blue, as it is said: "A lace of blue" (Exod. XXXIX., 31), and "thy staff;" this denotes the King Messiah, for it is said: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse" (Isa. XI., 1), and "The rod of thy strength shall the Lord send out of Zion."—*Midrash Bereshith* or *on Genesis*, sec. 85 (on chapter XXXVIII., 18).

On Num. XVII., 6, 8, the Midrash remarks that Aaron's rod was in the hands of every king till the destruction of the temple, when it was hid. This same rod will in the future be again in the hands of the Messiah, as it is said: "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength," etc.—*Midrash Bemidbar* or *on Numbers*, sec. 18.

CXVI., 9. "I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living."

Why did all the fathers wish to be buried in the land of Israel? Rabbi Eleazar said: There is some mystery about it. Rabbi Joshua the son of Levi referred to "I will walk before the Lord," etc. Our rabbis said in the name of Rabbi Chelbo: There are two reasons why the fathers wished to be buried in the Holy Land, 1) because the dead of this land will rise first to a new life in the days of the Messiah, and 2) because they enjoy the years of the Messiah.—*Midrash Bereshith Rabba* or *on Genesis*, sec. 96 (on chapter XLVII., 29).

CXVI., 13. "I will take the cup of salvation."

In the future God will give the Israelites to drink from four cups, as it is said: "The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance and of my cup" (Ps. XVI., 5); "I will take the cup of salvation," and "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence... my cup runneth over" (Ps. XXIII., 5). It is not written (Ps. CXVI., 13) "cup of salvation," but "cup of salvations,"¹ which means one cup in the day of Messiah and one in the day of Gog and Magog.—*Midrash Bereshith Rabba* or *on Genesis*, sec. 88 (on chapter XL., 9 seq.).²

CXXXII., 17. "There will I make the horn of David to bud; I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed."

¹ In the Hebrew the word "salvation" is in the plural.

² The Talmud quotes our passage in the following manner: "The Holy One, blessed be He! will make a banquet for the righteous, on the day when He will accomplish His loving kindness to the seed of Isaac. At the close of the banquet, they will give the cup of blessing to Abraham to bless. No, he will say, I begat Ishmael. They will hand it to Isaac saying, Take and bless it. No, he will say, I begat Esau. Take and bless it, they will say to Jacob. No, he will say to them, because I married two sisters simultaneously, which the law will afterwards prohibit. Take and bless it, they will say to Moses. No, he will say, I was not found worthy to enter the land of Israel either alive or dead. Take and bless it, they will say to Joshua. No, he will say, I was not found worthy to leave behind a son, as it is written: "Nun his son, Joshua his son" (1 Chron. vii., 27). Take and bless it, they will say to David. I will do so, he will say, and it becomes me to do so, for it is said: "I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord." The same we also find in the *Yalkut* on our passage, fol. 959, col. 1.—*Pesachim*, fol. 119, col. 2.

Rabbi Hanina said: Since you keep a continual lamp, you will be found worthy to receive the light of the Messiah, as it is said: "There will I make the horn," etc.—*Vayikra Rabba* or *Midrash on Leviticus*, sec. 31 (on chapter xxiv., 3).

CXLII., 5. "I cried unto thee, O Lord; I said, Thou art my refuge and my portion in the land of the living."

It is written "I cried unto the Lord," etc., but is there another land of the living besides Tyre and her surroundings, because there is every thing in abundance, and you (David) say: "My portion is in the land of the living?" But the meaning is, there is a land whose dead will rise at first in the days of the Messiah.—*Bereshith Rabba* or *Midrash on Genesis*, sec. 74 (on chapter xxxi., 3).

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TRANSLITERATION.

- Col. I. 1. m. šulmân-ašârid šarru dan-nu šar kiššati
 šarru lâ ša-na-an ú-šum-gal-lu
 ka-ba-nit-tú kib-ra-a-tê ša-bir
 mal-kê ša kul-la-tê ša kul-la-at
 5. na-ki-ri-šu ki-ma ḥa-aṣ-ba-tê
 u-da-ki-ku zikaru dan-nu lâ pa-du-ú

- lâ ga-mil tu-ku-un-tê mâr Ašûr-našir-apal
 šar kiššati sar *mat* Aššûr mâr Tukulti-Adar
 šar kiššati šar *mat* Aššur-ma ka-šid ištu tam-di êlit
10. a-di tam-di šaplit *mat* Hat-ti *mal* Lu-ḥu-tê
mat Ad-ri *mal* Lab-na-na *mat* Ku-i
mat Ta-ḥu-li *mal* Mê-li-di a-lak-ma
 ê-na-a-tê ša *nar* Idiglat u *naru* Pu-rat-tê
 a-na tu-ur gi-mil-li ša *m.* Marduk-šum-iddin
15. a-na *mat* Ak-ka-di-i lu a-lik
- Col. II. 1. [*m.* Marduk]-bêl-u-sa[-tê âḥû du-bu-us-su abikta-šu
 am-ḥa]aš a-na Kûtu *ki* Bâbîlu *ki* Bar-sip *ki*
 êru-ub *immeru* nikê-ja a-na ilânê ma-ḥa-zi
 ša *mat* Ak-ka-di-i ak-ki a-na *mat* Kal-di ú-rid ma-da-tu
5. ša šarrâ-ni ša *mat* Kal-di kâli-šu-nu am-ḥur
 ê-nu-ma dûru rab-a ša âli-ja Ašur ū dûru šal-ḥu-šú
 ša šarrâ-ni âbê-ja âbê-ja a-lik maḥ-ri-ja
 ina pa-ni ê-pu-šu dūrâ-ni šu-nu-ti ê-na-ḥu-ma
 la-bi-ru-ta illi-ku ištu abulli êri....a-di
10. êli *naru* Idiglat kî mê-li-šu-nu a-na êšt-ên
 ni-ki-ja aš-bat a-šar-šu-nu lu-ma-si
 dan-na-su-nu lu ak-šú-da ina êli kî-šir
 šad-i dan-ni uš-ši-šú-nu a-di
 taḥ-lu-bi-šu-nu ar-šip ú-šak-lil narâ
15. narâ ša šarrâni abê-ja a-na aš-ri-šu-nu ú-tir
- Col. III. 1. ina um-mê-šu-ma *ilu* Ki-du-du ma-šar dûri
 it-ti dûri-ma šú-a-tu 'a-a-bit a-na
 êš-šu-tê êpu-uš rubu-u arku-u an-ḥu-ut
 dūrâ-ni lu-ud-diš šuma šaṭ-ra' a-na aš-ri-šú
5. luṭtir Ašur ik-ri-bi-šú i-šê-im
 šum dûri rabi-ê ša mê-lam-mu-šu mâta kat-mu
 šum dûru šal-ḥi-šu Mu-nir-ri-ṭi—kib-ra-a-tê
ilu U-la-a ma-šar âli-šu *ilu* Ki-du-du ma-šar abulli-šu
 šum abulli êri....ša dûri dan-ni ni-rab kâl mâtâtê
10. sa-ni-ka-at mal-kê abulli êri....(?) ga-at
 êli um-ma-ni ša abulli ni-rab šarru muš-tê-šir
 mu-šar-ši-da....rat-tê-ê abulli si-ḥur-ra-a-tê Ašur
 mu-i-niš šab-šu-tê abulli Ašur ba-na-at.....
 dûru rabû uš-šib Šamaš ni-ir mul-tar-ḥi abulli Šamaš
15. ra(?)—si-mat ku-ru-nû ilâni abulli ma-gal-a.....
 ik-kib-ša lâ ma-ga-ri abulli ti-sir(šir(?))

¹ In all the italicized words *a* and *e* stand for â and ê.

TRANSLATION.

- Col. I. 1. Salmaneser, the powerful king, the king of multitudes,
 the king without a rival, the monarch (?)
 the subduer (?) of the four regions, who breaks (the might)
 of princes, who crushed the totality of all his enemies like vessels,
 6. the manly, the mighty, who neither spares
 nor favors in battle, the son of Asurnazirpal,
 king of multitudes, king of the land of Assyria, son of Tiglathadar,
 king of multitudes, king of the land of Assyria. The con-
 10. queror from the upper sea to the lower sea. The lands of Chatti, Luḫuti
 Adri, Lebanon, K̄ui
 Taḫuli, Mytelene I traversed, and
 to the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates.
 To the help of (or, to avenge) Merodach-sum-iddin
 15. to the land of Akkad I went.
- Col. II. 1. Merodach-bêl-usate, his step-brother (?), I
 defeated. Into Cutha, Babylon, Borsippa
 I entered. Sacrifices to the gods of the cities of
 Akkad I sacrificed. To the land of Chaldea
 I descended. Tribute from all the princes of the land
 5. of Chaldea I received.—At that time
 the great wall of my city Ašur and its (outer) wall, which
 the kings, my forefathers, who preceded me, formerly
 had built—these walls were fallen down and
 had become old. From the bronze . . . (?) gate of the city
 10. as far as to the river Tigris, during high water, for the first time,
 I brought my sacrifices. Their places I cleansed,
 their foundations I reached. With huge mountain stones
 from their foundation to their top
 I built them. I prepared a tablet.
 15. The tablets of the kings, my fathers, I restored to their place.
- Col. III. 1. In those days the god Kidudu, the guardian of the wall,
 together with the wall itself, had become ruined. I made it
 anew.—May a future prince renew the walls
 (when) fallen, (and) return the inscription to its place.
 5. Ašur shall hear his prayer.
 The name of the great wall (is) Ša-Melammušu-Mata-Katmu
 The name of its (outer) wall, Munirriṭi-Kibrâtê [gate
 The god Ulâ (is) the guardian of its city, the god Kidudu the guardian of its
 The name of the bronze gate of the city which belonged to the great wall is
 Nirab-Kâl-Mâtâtê-Sanikat-Malkê.

The doubtfulness of the signs so indicated in the remaining lines makes the translation difficult, inasmuch as the construction in itself is peculiar. I shall, therefore, offer only a few notes by way of explanation.

NOTES.

For convenience sake I have denominated the above inscription the Throne-Inscription of Salmaneser II., the name being suggested by the throne-like seat upon which a life-size figure of the king is sculptured. The stone, which is of dark granular basalt, in consequence of which the writing is somewhat indistinct, was found by Sir A. H. Layard about fifty miles below Nimroud on the Tigris in the great mound of Chalah-Shergat, which is supposed to have been the site of the Aššur, the primitive capital of Assyria. It is now in the British Museum, where, during my visit in the summer of '85, I made the above copy, which may be compared with that published in Layard's "Cuneiform Inscriptions," pp. 76, 77.

COL. I.

1. The remaining traces of the last sign in Salmaneser are of šak, riš, not bar, maš, as in Layard.

2. *uṣumgallu*.—I have translated this word "monarch(?)," regarding it as the same word which occurs in Sb 125 (Del. A.L. 3) where the sign tak, šum is written, and the whole equated with the non-Semitic *uṣumgal*. The ideogram equals *bul (pul)+gal*. Now *gal* equals *rabû great*, and *bul* equals *u-šum = êdiššu*, Sb 171, cf. Sc 17. The word would, according to this, mean "the one great (one)" = "monarch," "supreme ruler," etc. In Asurnaz. I. 19, we find, *uṣumgallu êkdu kâšid âlâni u ħuršâni*, i. e., "the powerful *uṣumgallu* the conqueror of cities and mountains." Lhotzky, "Inaugural Dissertation," translates without remark "eine jugendkräftige Hyäne(?)" etc. This meaning seems to agree better with the passage II R. 19. 62. *b: kakku ša kîma uṣumgalli šalamta ikkalu*, i. e., "the weapon which, like an *uṣumgallu*, devours the dead body." In view of this passage, the latter sign of the ideogram may be better explained through Sb 172, where, in the non-Semitic column, *pur* is given, and in the Assyrian column *pašaru set loose, free*, the original idea being doubtless that of the Aramaic *פָּשַׁר* *divide, separate*.

3. *ka-ba-nit-tu*.—Unknown. I have translated "subduer(?)," the context requiring some word like "overcome" or "crush."

4. *kullâtê ša kullât*.—For this double construction cf. I R. 68, col. I, l. 29: *šar ilâni ilâni ša ilani* equals "the king of all the gods."

5. Cf. Khorsabad Inscription, l. 14: *mâtâtê nakirê kâlišun karpanis uĥappî all hostile lands like pots I broke to pieces*. Oppert translates *karpaniš uĥappî* by "terrore implevi," which is altogether wrong. Cf. also Sargon I R. 36. 9: *mâtâtê kališina kîma haṣ-bat-ti (= haṣbâtê) udaḫḫiḫu*. Cf. further Botta 164. 10, and see Lyon's Sargon, p. 60. Cf. Aram. *תִּבּ* *tub, pot*, and Syriac *ܬܒܐ*.

6. *udakḫiku*.—II, from *dakâku* = Heb. and Aram. דַּקַּק to *break to pieces*. From this stem comes the abstract noun *duḫḫakûtu*, a syn. of *siḫḫiritu*, etc., explained through the Sum. *tur+tur* = *small small* or *very small*. See Del. in Lotz Tig. p. 149.

10. *Luḫutê*.—This country, or rather mountainous district, is also mentioned by Asurnazirpal in connection with Lebanon, he having sacked the country and harvested its crops: Šê'am u šinnu ša *mat Luḫuti êḡidi*, I R. 25. 82.; l. c. 83, *âlâni ša mat Luḫuti aktašad*. Norris, Dic., p. 664, referring to this passage, says it is "a district upon the Orontes;" but he reads it falsely *Lahuti*.

11. *Kui*.—In south-east of Cilicia.

COL. II.

Marduk-bel-usate.—According to the "synchronous history," etc. (II R. 65; II. 50 seq., and Salm. Ob. 74 seq., etc.), after Merodakšumiddin, the king of Kardunias (i. e., Babylon), had ascended the throne of his father, Mardukbêlusatê (i. e., Merodak is the lord of help) revolted against him. Salmaneser descended from the north to the assistance of Merodakšumiddin, and put to death his rival brother and those who rebelled with him.

5. *šarrâni...kâlišunu*.—Cf. the Heb. construction with כָּלָם, e. g., Ps. VIII, 8: צִנְה וְאַלְפִים כָּלָם.

9. *abulli êri(?)*.—The sign following *abulli* is rendered, Sb 114, by *êrû bronze*; but whether it is to be taken alone here, and the following sign likewise to be regarded independently as an additional defining word, perhaps equal to *rapšu* (*šal* = *rapašu*, e. g., V R. 30, 73, a. o., and the sign in question is evidently composed of *šal+u*) *wide*, or whether both signs form one ideogram, is not certain. They are, however, usually combined. Cf. V R. 33; II. 24, and further, l. c., IV. 88, and VI. 39.

COL. III.

1. *ilu Kidudu*.—Otherwise unknown in the Assyrian Pantheon. Likewise *ilu Ulâ* (l. 8).

6. *ša-melammušu-mata-katmu*—i. e., "the one whose splendor covers the land."

7. *dûru*.—Here determinative before *šalḫu*. The *dûru* proper was the wall inside of the moat; *šalḫu*, the one on the outside. See Lyon's Sargon, p. 77.

Munirriṭi-kibrâtê the one who causes the (four) regions to tremble.—*narâṭu* means "to wage war," V R. III. 58; VI. 72; also "to waver," "give way." Sm. Asurb. 125, 19, *ul inirūṭa šêpaka thy feet shall not give way, shake*. Lay. 33. 9, etc.

9, 10. *nirab-kâl-mâtâtê-sanikat-malkê* the entrance of all lands, the oppressor of princes.

11. *ummânû*.—There are two words: 1) "army," "host;" 2) "skill," "art." *muš-tê-šir*.—Part. III₂ from שִׁיר *direct, be right*, III₂, *rule*.

13. *muiniš-sabšûê the one who weakens the powerful*.—*muiniš* II, from *anâšu to be weak*; II, *weaken*; root **שני**. *šabšu*, syn. of *dannu strong*; cf. *Asurn.* II. 106; *Del. Lotz Tig.* 224; cf. also II R. 29, 10, c, d; V R. 20; *Rev.* 14, 6; V R. 28, 12, e, f; II R. 29, 10, c, d; V R. 9, 106, etc., etc.

14. *uššib*.—Probably a P'ēl form from **ישב** *sit, dwell*.

nîr multarḫi the subjugator of the powerful.—Equals *mustarḫi*.

16. *ikkibša lâ magari the merciless punishment*.

It is to be noted further, that, in the last three lines, the names of the gates occur, though the usually accompanying *šumu name* is omitted:—

14. *abulli Šamaš door of the Sun-god*.

15. *abulli Magal nâri(?) door of the river Magal*.

16. *abulli ti-sir(?) (Lay. ri(??)) door of ti-sir(?)*.

"THE SEMITES."

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We first meet with this name in the table of nations in Gen. x. While this table traces the totality of the nations existing at the time of the author to the sons of Noah, in verse 22 it designates Sem (see art. Noah. vol. X., page 618) as the progenitor of the nations called Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Conformable to the interpretation of eastern nations and to the biblical use of words, as also to the geographical situation of the countries, Elam is the people and land east of the lower Tigris, south of Assyria and Media, answering nearly to the later Susiana and Elymaïs; Asshur the province of Assyria, in the original sense the province situated east of the Tigris with its capital Nineveh opposite to the modern Mosul; Arphaxad 'Αρραχαίτι (?), according to Schrader, Babylonia. But according to the table of nations, Hebrews and Arabians are also to be considered as descendants of Arphaxad. For Eber, from whom Joktan and Peleg spring, is represented as a grandson of Arphaxad. The Joktanites are Arabians, although by Arabian genealogists Joktan is regarded as the ancestor of the pure Arabians in Arabia proper under the name *تخطان*; from Peleg, however, Terah springs, the father of Abraham, the ancestor of the Hebrews in the stricter sense of the word, and of the Arabians sprung from Ishmael and Keturah. The name Aram designates, according to the Old Testament use of terms, the peoples dwelling in Syria, in Mesopotamia as far as the plains of the Upper Tigris and in the valley districts within the Taurus, the Aramæans or Syrians; finally under Lud, judging from the resemblance between the names, from the geographical situation and the old authorities, we generally think of the Lydians of Asia Minor.

These nations comprehended under the name Sem, whose enumeration begins, as we see, in the south-east extends northwards, then turns from the North to the West, in order to terminate south of this Northern range, are regarded according to the table of nations as genealogically related. Is now this genealogical relationship confirmed by a lingual affinity? A certain group of languages, closely related by their rich stock of words and by their grammar, is called *Semitic*. What languages are thus designated?

The Semitic stock of languages branches out in two main divisions: the North Semitic and the South. To the first belongs (1) the Aramaic, which again divides into East and West Aramaic. (The language of the Babylonian Talmud,

the so-called Syrian written language, the Mandaic and certain still spoken dialects are to be reckoned as East Aramaic; on the other hand, the Biblical Aramaic, commonly (yet improperly) called Chaldee, the language of the Targums and of the Jerusalem Gemara, the Samaritan language and that of the Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions pertain to the West Aramaic.) (2) The Canaanitish, namely, the Phœnician (and Punic) and the Hebrew of the Old Testament which agrees with it, with unimportant exceptions. (3) The Assyro-Babylonian, which forms by its grammatical peculiarity the bridge between the North Semitic languages and the South. To the South Semitic belong (1) the Arabic, that is, the Koranic dialect, the language of the Koran, the Arabic written language; (2) the Southern Arabic (Sabaïtic and Himyaritic); (3) the Ge'ez or Æthiopic and the Amharitic. Thus the languages of the Hebrews and Phœnicians, of the Aramæans, of the Babylonians and Assyrians in the North and North-east, of the Central and Northern Arabians, of the Southern Arabians and of the Abyssinians in the South, are designated Semitic. But though the statement of the table of nations in regard to the relationship of Assyrians, Babylonians, Aramæans (?), Hebrews and Arabians is also confirmed by their language, the case is different with the Elamites and Lydians on the one hand, and with the Phœnicians on the other. From a very ancient time, as the inscriptions which have been discovered show, the Elamites have spoken a language related neither to the Semitic idiom nor to the Indo-Germanic, but to the Sumero-Akkadian; and as to the Lydian language, on both ethnographical and geographical grounds it is highly improbable that it was Semitic. Moreover, the Phœnicians, who spoke a Semitic language and, as already remarked, a language nearly related to the Hebrew, are according to the table of nations as Canaanites descendants of Ham, and on other grounds were not certainly of Semitic nationality. Here an exchange of languages took place; whether also in the case of the Elamites and Lydians, who, if of Semitic origin, exchanged their language for a non-Semitic one, we leave undecided. How unfitting in this state of the case is the term *Semitic* languages, which came into use after the time of Eichhorn and Schlözer, and from deference to them became so general that, so far as was then known, the nations descending according to Gen. x., 21 seq. from Sem were regarded as speaking languages resembling the Hebrew, will now appear. Other designations have been proposed. Renan would call this group of languages Syro-Arabic. But that this name is better than the other may be considered doubtful.

That all these languages termed Semitic by us and also the nations speaking them formed at one time a unity and then first through emigration began to divide themselves into new families with new dialects, in order finally to become new nations with new languages, appears from a comparison of these languages in respect of the copiousness of their words and their grammar. They all exhibit

the same type,* and are perceived to be daughters of one mother, of one primitive Semitic language. We understand by this term the language of the Semites in the last stage of its division. For in the form in which the Semitic languages lie before us in various literatures, no single one can claim to represent the primitive Semitic, to constitute the Semitic language from which all the others could have been developed, not even the Arabic which some would identify with the original Semitic. But there exists no doubt, that in the Arabic the type of the Semitic standing nearest of all to the primitive Semitic is to be sought. But if the case stands thus with the Arabic, the conclusion is obvious that Arabia was the original seat of Semiticism; that from this place it diverged ray-like North, East, South, and West. Only the ancient purity of the Arabic language—it has been justly replied—points no more to this conclusion, than the fact that the language of the Greeks and Indians from being most closely related to the Indo-Germanic primitive language, warrants the conclusion that India or Greece was the original seat of the Indo-German. If the part of the Semites called the later Arabians immigrated into Arabia not till after the Semitic division of language, this alone—the entrance into this wonderful land, closed on three sides by water and on one by the desert for thousands of years from all intercourse with the nations—would determine the character of the language to all later times, and it would maintain itself as pure and unchanged as possible. The old Hebrew tradition points to Mesopotamia—the land of the two rivers—as the starting-point of all the Semites. And, indeed, that their original seat in the stage immediately preceding their division is to be sought, not in Arabia, but in the deep Mesopotamian plain, is confirmed on unassailable grounds. A. von Kremer and recently Fritz Hommel have the merit of pointing out these grounds. They indicate them from a comparison of the different names of animals and plants in connection with the study of the fauna and flora of the lands under consideration and of their historical development in the same. The existence of animals for the early Semitic fauna has been shown, which appear not at all in Arabia, or at least only sparsely. Thus there is wanting in ancient Arabic (1) the early Semitic word *dubbu* "bear." That this word is really primitive Semitic, is shown by the Æthiopic *debb*, the Hebrew בָּר, the Aramaic *dabba*, and the Assyrian *dabu*, with which agrees the real appearance of the bear in Habeshah, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, while by the natural condition of Arabia the appearance of this animal is excluded. The word بَئْ "bear," which the Arabic lexicons give, appears first in Moslem authors and poets, when long since the intellectual centre of gravity no longer lay in Arabia. (2) There is wanting in Arabic the primitive Semitic word *ri'mu* (Heb. רִמָּה, Assyrian *rîmu*) signifying in Northern Semitic "the wild

* Stade has given in his compendium of Hebrew grammar the peculiarities of the family of Semitic languages (Part I. Leipzig, 1879).

ox," whose real appearance in the Northern Semitic lands is confirmed by the symbolical representations of the Assyrian Monuments, while wild oxen were never in Arabia and are not to be found there at the present time. The Arabians have indeed this word also, but they designate thereby the Antelope leucoryx, to which they have transferred the term. (3) Hommel calls attention to the very seldom appearance of the early Semitic word for panther (Æthiopic *namr*, Heb. נִמְרָא, Aramaic *nemra* and Assyrian *nimru*) in the ante-Mohammedan poetry: an animal seldom found at the present time in Arabia, though it must have been there in early times. On the other hand there are names of animals which are alone peculiar to the Arabian fauna, and for which the various other Semitic languages have either no names at all, or no modern ones. This second kind of proof serves to confirm the first named conclusion, that the abode of the primitive Semites is not to be sought in Arabia. It shows by lingual evidence that before the division and formation of dialects the Semites had knowledge of the camel but not of the ostrich. They abode thus not in Arabia, where the ostrich is indigenous, and Arabia cannot consequently be regarded as the original place of the camel. The statement of Kremer, that before the formation of dialects the Semites could not have known the palm-tree and its fruit, that the oldest true expression for the date-tree is found in the language used by the Aramaic peoples inhabiting the Babylonian valleys—this statement Hommel feels compelled to question, and affirms that the tree must certainly have been known to the Semites, although its artificial fructification and production took place first only in historic times and indeed in Babylonia, the true seat of Semitic husbandry, in the Assyrian as also later in the Aramaic time. We conclude, then, that the abode of the primitive Semites shortly before their division cannot possibly be located outside the later Northern Semitic provinces; for in the old time the district in which the date-palm spread itself did not extend beyond the chain of mountains terminating the Semitic lands in the North and North-east. And since the oldest native soil of the date-palm is the region of the middle and lower Euphrates and Tigris, and moreover since the tradition of the Semites from time immemorial has placed it there, we find ourselves referred again to that part of the land of the two rivers lying between Assyria and Babylonia. There the last station of the Semites before the division should be sought. The common primitive home of the Semitic as well as of the Aryan peoples is assigned by Kremer to High Asia. In the High Turan, west of Bolarlag and of the high plain of Pamir, the primitive Semites could have dwelt in close contact with the Aryans, whence, following the course of the great water-courses, especially of the Oxus, the migration of the Semites might have taken place first towards the West and then round the southern shore of the Caspian sea and ever further towards the South-west. Thence they might have pressed their way through one of the Elburz-passes into the mountainous coun-

try of Media, and then through those old invasions from and towards Media, through the rocky defile of Holman, the entry in the deep basin of the Assyro-Mesopotamian low country might have taken place. We pursue these conjectures of Kremer no further. We content ourselves with the result, that the Mesopotamian plain was the abode of the Semites before that last migration which resulted in the form of the Semitic group of nations known to us and meeting us from the beginning of history. According to Hommel's conjecture, already before Media and Elam a part of the still united Semites (namely, those who afterwards became Babylonians) could have separated in order to migrate through the narrow Holman pass into the land of the Euphrates, while the remainder on and past the southern shore of the Caspian sea and then more northerly from above down over Mesopotamia could have occupied the later Semitic lands, then dwelling together here still a long time, they could have become one after another by further migrations and separations the different Semitic nations (Aramæans, Hebrews, Arabians). Again, there are lingual grounds which favor this view, just as there are lingual grounds which necessitate the conclusion, that the Semites who afterwards broke up into Northern and Southern Arabians (Sabæans), from which last again the Abyssinians branched off, must have been after their separation from the rest, and even in Central Arabia, somewhat longer together. On good grounds we are admonished against further attempts at reconstructing from the greater or less number of affinities between these or those of the Semitic languages the succession of the divisions and particular migrations of the Semitic peoples.

In the earliest historical time, to which we now turn, the eastern spurs of the Taurus mountains form the boundary of the Semitic nations on the North, the Zagros chain (from Lake Urmiah southerly to the Persian Gulf) on the North-east, the Persian Gulf on the East, the Arabian Sea on the South, the Red Sea, the Isthmus of Suez and the Mediterranean Sea on the West. With the individual nations dwelling in ancient times within these bounds in mind, we direct our attention in the first place to Babylonia, the mother-land not only of the Babylonio-Assyrian, but also of the whole Northern Asiatic civilization in general. By Babylonia we understand the country on the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris, from the place where the two streams approach each other to the Persian Gulf. When in the cuneiform inscriptions the kings of Babylon bear the title "king of Sumir and Akkad," these names designate South and North Babylonia, in the latter of which the city of Babylon lay. The cuneiform inscriptions enable us to discern in the Sumero-Akkadians the original (not Semitic) inhabitants of the land and the real founders of its civilization. Their language on account of its agglutinated character is counted to the so-called Turanian family. They were also the inventors of the cuneated letters. These, originally hieroglyphics, were gradually transformed into a writing by syllables, only without

ever losing their hieroglyphical character. With that non-Semitic element the Semitic element coming in by immigration now associated itself, which, first establishing itself in Northern Babylonia and then in South, contended a long time with the former for the mastery, until by degrees it triumphed and more and more impressed its stamp upon the country, only without being able ever completely to efface the traces of the non-Semitic element. From the Sumero-Akkadians the Semitic Babylonians obtained writing, religion and other elements of civilization which deeply impressed their national life, and which they themselves still further improved. As to Babylon, as a city, it is indeed a beginning of the Semites. Its history begins towards the last third of the third thousand years before Christ. Over a thousand years it was the metropolis of the country. Then it falls behind the newly flourishing daughter-city of Nineveh, which for over half a thousand years (from Tiglath-pileser I. to Assurbani-pal) maintains the ascendancy, till for Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar a last and indeed only short continuing prosperity begins, when it becomes "the capital city not only of Babylonia with Assyria but also so to speak of half the world." In 538 B. C. Cyrus brought the Babylonian kingdom to an end. The Babylonio-Assyrian language yielded to the Aramaic. (See art. Babylonia, vol. II., p. 42.) In regard to the Assyro-Babylonian religion, different articles of this work deal with the same, to which we must here refer. We remark only here—and this is of the highest importance in forming a judgment of Semiticism—that most of the gods supposed till now to be of purely Semitic origin, are not of Semitic, but, as can be shown, of Sumero-Akkadian origin. But not only religious considerations, but, as already remarked, other elements of civilization carried the Babylonians over in part from the Sumero-Akkadians, such as we perceive in the accurate astronomical annotations which we meet with in the old clay-tablets found in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, in the strict regulations for money, measure and weight in Babylon, and in the habitable structures and other things. We possess a number of epic and lyric poems which were translated from the Akkado-Sumerian into the Semitic idiom, together with poetic productions of Semitic origin. As to the Assyro-Babylonian literary works held by us, three epochs are to be distinguished: (1) The Old-Babylonian (from about 2000 to 1500 years B. C.) to which pertain the oldest Semitico-Babylonian royal inscriptions, the so-called legends of Izdubar, the great national epic of the Babylonians, which celebrates the deeds of King Izdubar of Erech, etc.; (2) the Assyrian, with the longer historical royal inscriptions (from about 1200 to 600 years B. C.); (3) the New-Babylonian, to which the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors, then the Assyrian translation of the tri-lingual Achæmenidæan inscriptions are to be assigned. If it is asked finally, what place is occupied among the Semitic languages by the Assyro-Babylonian, which has disclosed to us the cuneiform inscriptions, we reply, as already remarked, that it forms the bridge between the Northern Semitic and the Southern.

If the Arabic, in the antiquity and primitiveness of its forms, stands in the first place, the Assyro-Babylonian stands in the second. While the Assyrian strongly reminds us of the Hebrew in the sounds of its consonants, its pronouns are of the nature of the Hebrew, its numerals with their *istin* (comp. עֶשְׂרִי) and *ihit* show a near relation of the Hebrew to the Assyro-Babylonian, just as the Niphal structure, closely joined on the other side with the Aramaic, shows such near relation through its predilection for reflexive forms, for the absence of an article, and the paraphrastic expression of the genitive through the relative pronoun and otherwise. Again the Assyrian shares with the Northern Arabic as well as with the Southern the vocalic termination of the nouns, the nasalizing of the pronunciation at the end of the same, especially with the Southern Arabic (Æthiopian) in the forms terminating in â for expressing tense, and in the form for expressing person in the Imperfect, etc. The Assyrian has conformed its reflexive forms to those found otherwise only in the Arabic and marked by an inserted *t* (iktatala).

We have above particularly indicated the districts of country which the Aramæans possessed in early times. If קִיָּר occurring in Amos ix., 5 is the region on the river Kur, the Κῦρος of the Greeks, which flows between the Black and Caspian seas and, uniting with the Araxes, discharges itself with the latter, then we get the idea that the immigration of the Aramæans to the territory afterwards occupied by them was from the country lying north of Armenia. Though considerable objections stand in the way of this supposition. (See art. Aram, vol. I., p. 600.) Looked at from the passage in Gen. x., 22 seq. (see vol. V., p. 601) אֲרָם is never used in the Old Testament as a collective name, but for designating particular races, provinces and kingdoms; consequently, when it is more accurately read, an appositional word is added, as אֲרָם דְּמִשְׁקֵן 2 Sam. viii., 5 seq.; 1 Chron. xviii., 5 seq., as by the Israelites before the Exile by far the greatest part of the Aramaic district is often simply called אֲרָם. Under Tiglath-pileser Aram, especially Damascus, whose last prince was Rezin, who combined with Pekah of Israel against the kingdom of Judah, was conquered by the Assyrians and made a dependent province. Later it was under Babylonian, then under Persian rule, till after the death of Alexander the Great it constituted a kingdom of Syria under the Seleucidæ and thus embraced Judea also. After Pompey (B. C. 64) it came under Roman sway. The religion of the old Aramæans has its roots in Babylonia. As to the language, the Aramaic dialects referred to above stand as far from that which we call primitive Semitic, as the Arabic stands near to it. Concerning the peculiarities of Aramaic see vol. I., p. 603.

Finally, the Aramaic language and writing were really long ago the commercial language and writing of anterior Asia, and filled nearly the place which possibly the English or French fills at the present time. After the fifth century B. C. not only the Assyro-Babylonian in Babylonia, but also the Hebrew in Palestine

yields to it. To the Aramaic pertain the "Chaldaic" portions of the Old Testament, which are better known as West or Biblical Aramaic. The principal part of Aramaic literature possessed by us begins, however, with the Syro-Christian literature, which embraces Biblical Interpretation, Dogmatics and Polemics, Martyrology and Liturgies. The oldest Syrian document still extant is the translation of the Old and New Testaments, which belongs probably to the last part of the second century after Christ. In the old Aramaic districts dialects of the East-Aramaic are still spoken, as in Tûr Abdîn on the upper Tigris. The so-called New Syrian is the present written language of the Nestorian Christians near Lake Urmiah and in Kurdistan (see art. "Aram").

Passing to the Hebrews in a narrower sense we take our starting-point again from the ethnological table of Genesis x., as supplemented by chapter xi. In Gen. x. we see the genealogy which, in the enumeration of the descendants of Japheth and Ham, gave names to most of the races and countries, as they were seen at the time of the narrator, with Arphaxad, the ancestor of the Abrahamites and Joktanites who appear as persons. For the names Arphaxad, Salah, Eber and the sons of Eber are names of persons. Then the younger branch of Eber's posterity diverges and is continued (Gen. x.) in the great number of peoples which sprang from him, while the other branch (Gen. xi.) proceeds in the patriarchal line till it comes to the sons of Terah: Abram, Nahor and Haran. For the history is intended to be a record of the descendants of Abram. The house of Terah was still a family when Abram was born, and not a tribe, but a family with numerous servants. It lived among growing and extending clans, which became nations which warred with one another, so that slaves came of prisoners of war. The place where the family of Terah lived is called in Gen. xi., 28 אֹּר כַּשְׂדִּים, Ur of the Chaldees, the present El-Mugheir, south of Babylon on the right bank of the Euphrates. Terah left his native country after the death of his son Haran and migrated further north with Abram and with his grandson Lot. The termination of his wandering is called the land of Canaan. But the course his journeying took appears from the circumstance that Terah remained on the way in Haran, the subsequent Káppai, and thus in the neighborhood of the later Edessa. We see that Terah ascended the Euphrates, in order to come to a place where he might more easily cross over. That he really had such place before him, appears from the fact that in the direction in which he approached the Euphrates, the later Thapsacus (Heb. תַּפְסַח = passage, ford) lay. What could now induce him to journey to the land of Canaan, lying between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea? He went thither in order to widen the sphere in which up to this time the descendants of Sem had spread abroad. From the land in which the Semitic races had already extended themselves, he went forth into one not yet Semitic, perhaps into one not yet generally occupied. It is worthy of notice, as appears from Gen. x., 18, how the narrative proceeds after speaking of

the descendants of Canaan : afterwards the families of the Canaanites were spread abroad, and even southwards to Gaza and even to Lasha, which probably lay at the entrance into the vale of Sodom, and thus in the Jordan valley. Could now this spreading abroad of the Canaanites, since it is expressly indicated as occurring afterwards, not have taken place at the time when Terah left his home, so that he might seek out a yet uninhabited land ? Then would Gen. XII., 6 be more intelligible, where it expressly declares that at that time, when Abram came into Canaan, the Canaanite was in the land. Terah himself, however, abandoned his project of continuing his journey to Canaan, and remained on the other side of the Euphrates, probably because he perceived that in the mean time the Canaanites had spread themselves abroad from the Sidonian coast over the land into which he would migrate. Then Abram would be drawn to Canaan under altogether different circumstances from those under which his father Terah formed the purpose of migrating thither. The latter had himself chosen the land to which he would go, and then of his own accord gave up the design of going thither. Abram received a divine revelation, which summoned him to finish the migration which his father had given up. According to the representation of Genesis, great importance attaches to the fact that it was not Abram's own decision, but a divine manifestation made directly to him, which lead him to leave his father's house and, accompanied only by the son of his deceased brother, further to journey into the country which was already occupied by strangers. In a country where, severed from connection with the Semitic race, he ran the risk of losing his own and his nephew's posterity among a strange people, he should—so ran the promise—become a great nation. His descendants, and he in and through them, should become a blessing to all the nations of the earth, that is, should be the medium of the realization of that salvation which, according to Genesis, had been revealed from the beginning to mankind as the goal of their history. Abram, believing the promises which had been spoken to him, obeys the divine command and journeys to Canaan. With this act of obedient faith on his part begins the history of that people of Semitic lineage, whom we call the people of the history of salvation, because to them was made the revelation of the living God touching the salvation of the world,—the revelation which issued in the coming of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of Israel and of the world. In this place we pursue no further the history of this people, which, as appears from its own testimony, is not to be placed on the same line with the history of the other Semitic nations. Nor as we here combat the modern view of the history of Israel as it is set forth in the Reuss-Wellhausen criticism of the Pentateuch. The newly deciphered Assyro-Babylonian and Egyptian monuments lend substantial support to the credibility of that history, not only as it pertains to a later period, as the time of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, but also to the time of the patriarchs, especially the time of Abram. Recently an attempt has been made to show traces also of a non-Semitic

(Sumero-Akkadian) influence in the language and civilization of the Hebrews. Such traces are indisputably present. Since the Assyro-Babylonian antiquity has been disclosed, an agreement has been pointed out between its traditions and the history contained in the Sacred Scriptures. We call to mind among others an account of the flood in the cuneiform inscriptions forming an episode in the so-called Izdubar-legends, which strikingly reminds us of the biblical account. Here manifestly we have a common tradition. But as with every thing that is common, we must not forget the distinction, which is perceptible here and there in the estimate of such traditions, and we must especially guard against extending in a manner to the Semitic generation generally that which constitutes Israel's religious peculiarity, and thus consider a development which characterizes Israel as a development peculiarly Semitic. The Old Testament religion is unique, in that it rests upon the revelation of the living God and demands as such an unique history—a history not to be estimated in the same manner as profane history. As opposed to the conclusions of the negative criticism, which certain Assyriologists have attempted to draw from the close connection of the Mosaic with the Babylonian ancient traditions, the high age and the original and significant character of the tradition of the creation, of paradise, of the fall, and of the deluge, have been pointed out and defended, so that instead of seeing in them a later plagiarism, we may rather see an old monotheistic parallel to the succeeding polytheistic Izdubar-legends of the Babylonian literature. Here, however, we pursue these thoughts no further; but this is the place to consider the influence which Egypt has had upon the development of Semiticism. Manifold relations always existed between Egypt and the Semites. The Old Testament tells us of a journey to Egypt twice made by Abram, and of Israel's sojourn in Egypt of four hundred years; and we know of the expeditions of the Pharaohs to Syria and Mesopotamia for plunder, made two thousand years before Christ. Semites, the so-called Hyksos, ruled a long time in the eastern part of the land of the Delta, adopted the manners and customs, the language and writing of the subdued Egyptians, but impressed their own stamp—a stamp never more to be entirely effaced—upon the entire civilization, the religion and art, and even upon the language of the Nile Land. The time of the Hyksos was the occasion of the influence of that Egyptian civilization upon Phœnician antiquity, whose first and most important expression was the borrowing of the Phœnician writing from the Sacerdotal, which became the mother of all the Semitic alphabets.

In regard to the language spoken by the descendants of Abram, the Hebrew, much may be said for the opinion that it was first received from immigrants to Canaan coming from an old Aramaic land, from western Mesopotamia, and thus originally speaking Aramaic. In Isa. xix., 18, the Hebrew is designated as שִׁפְתֵי כְנָעַן. That the Canaanites spoke a language related to the Hebrew, appears from the names of races, provinces and places in Canaan, which for the most part

are older than the Israelitish migration; moreover the old Canaanites stood in close relationship to the Phœnicians; and that their language was closely related to the Hebrew has already been remarked. But how came these peoples with a Semitic language, if they, as the ethnological table declares, belonged to the Hamitic race? In the first place there is the assumption of an exchange of languages. The only question is, whether such exchange took place. Have we to assume an original Semitic population in Canaan, from whom the Semitic idiom passed over to the immigrating Canaanites, or had there been a long and close living together of the Hamites and Semites in the southern districts of the Euphrates and Tigris, before the former journeyed westward? For the latter supposition there are weighty reasons. In its favor it may be said, that the Sacred Record indicates a future important position to the Hamitic race on the Euphrates, since it (Gen. x., 8 seq.) refers the founding of the Babylonian empire to the Hamitic Nimrod; that otherwise an ascendancy of the Hamites in the land of the Euphrates, before the Semites came upon the scene, would be out of the question; that the manifold contact of the civilization and religion of the Phœnicians, among others, with those of the Babylonians proclaim also the eastern descent of the former. Be this, however, as it may: that an exchange of language took place with the Terahites in their migration, is evident from the testimony of Gen. xxxi., 48. Jacob and Laban have each the same family origin, and still the latter called the heap of stones, which they erected, שְׁהַרְיָא (Aramaic), and the former גַּל עֵד (Hebrew). The only explanation of this is the supposition that Abram adopted the dominant language of the country, into which by divine command, he journeyed. While we refer the reader for information concerning the Hebrew language and its history to the article of this work which deals with the subject, we only remark further, that the Old Testament exhibits dialectical differences of the Old Hebrew, especially a Northern Hebrew, influenced by the neighboring Aramaic, in distinction from the pure Judean Hebrew, whose classic representatives appear in Micha and Isaiah; perhaps also a Southern or Eastern Hebrew which approaches the Arabic. The old Hebrew was spoken not only in Canaan, but also in the country east of the Jordan, particularly in Moab, with unimportant dialectical deviations. This last has been shown by the successful finding in 1868 of the Moabite stone among the ruins of old Diban. After the fifth century before Christ the Hebrew in Palestine yields to the Aramaic. The Phœnician, according to all those inscriptions and particular words, which have been correctly read, agrees, with unimportant exceptions, with the Hebrew; only as correctly written it has this peculiarity, that in it the vowel-letters (י and ו) are usually omitted where they quiesce, which may be regarded as a remnant of the old orthography. Finally, the greater number of existing monuments are not really old. Comparatively speaking the more important inscriptions belong to the time immediately before Christ, the coins to the period of the Seleucidæ and

the Romans, the inscription of Marseilles made known in 1846 to the fourth century before Christ, while the Phœnicians of Ipsambul are considerably older. Upon the soil of North Africa the Phœnician got its peculiar character. The *Pœ-nulus* of Plautus and Inscriptions make us acquainted with the New Punic.

Touching the Arabic group of languages, of which it can be said that they are strongly marked by the genuine Semitic type, we would refer our readers for a discussion of most questions which here come under consideration to the article "Arabien" (vol. I., p. 589), where also an explanation is given of the words of Holy Writ concerning the descent and ramification of the Arabians. We confine ourselves to the following observations. We distinguish between the Central and Northern Arabians, usually simply called Arabians, and the Southern Arabians or Sabæans (Himjarites) (Heb. שְׁבָא); also the Abyssinians who wandered from Southern Arabia into the mountainous regions of Africa. While the Northern Arabians were only first at a late date, indeed only first by Mahomet formed into one great, well arranged commonwealth, the Southern Arabians had already in a more ancient time distinguished themselves not only by the building of great cities, but also by the founding of great States, and generally by a stable civilization. According to the Old Testament the Sabæans were celebrated for their wealth in frankincense, spices, gold, and precious stones (1 Kgs. x., 1 sq.; 2 Chron. ix., 1 sq.; Isa. lx., 6; Ezek. xvii., 22 sq.; xxxviii., 13; Ps. lxxii., 14), and at the same time greatly by their trade (Ps. lxxii., 10; Job vi., 19). Indeed in early times they were, next to the Phœnicians, the most important commercial people of anterior Asia. According to the tradition of the Arabians, the great grandson of Kachtan, the ancestor of the Southern Arabians, built Abd-Schams, equivalent to Saba, the capital of Sabæa, which the ancients called sometimes Saba (since they applied the name of the people to the city), and sometimes Mareb (upon inscriptions Marjab, by Arabian geographers مَرْجَاب), and which was discovered again in 1843, east of the present San'â. In the first century before Christ, Harith, a descendant of Himjar, gained the ascendancy over the kingdom of the Sabæans. Since then the Himjarites have been the ruling people in Yemen. In Gen. x., 28; 1 Chron. i., 22, the שְׁבָא appear as the sons of Joktan, a descendant of Eber, as also in the Arabic traditions; in Gen. xxv., 3; 1 Chron. i., 32, as a descendant of Abraham by Keturah, in both cases thus as Semites; whereas in Gen. x., 7; 1 Chron. i., 9, the שְׁבָא are Cushites, and thus Hamites, like the סְבָא, with whom they are named in Isa. xliii., 3; xlv., 14; Ps. lxxii., 10. By סְבָא we are to understand according to Josephus (Ant. 2, 10, 2), Merœ, a province of Æthiopia enclosed by the White and Blue Nile (the present Sennâr) with a similarly named capital. If we assume—and we have seen above that much may be said in favor of the supposition—that the Hamites, crowded from the lands of the Euphrates to the south-west, mingled with the Semites in Southern Arabia, whence then followed their migration to Habesh, it becomes clear on the

one hand that the table of nations recognizes Cushites also in Arabia (שְׁכָנִי and יִרְיָ), on the other hand that the same races are represented as Abrahamic, doubtfully Joktanitic, and thus as Semites, just as the table of nations names the Havilæans and Sabæans (Gen. x., 7, 28 seq.) as Cushitic and thus as African, also as Joktanitic and thus as Semitic. That the African Sabæans are fundamentally identical with Arabians, cannot be doubted. The Æthiopians stood in close contact with the Sabæans. The commercial relations of the two peoples are old, their languages strongly resemble each other; the Æthiopic writing originated in the Sabæan. We know the Southern Arabic from numerous Himjaritic and Sabæan inscriptions, some of which date back even to the 8th century before Christ. The Æthiopic or Ge'ez (that is, the language of the free) exhibits a literature from the time when the Æthiopians went over to Christianity (third century after Christ). It is closely related to the Northern Arabic as well as to the Southern, is not less rich and improved than the latter, and has moreover a considerable number of words common to the Hebrew and Aramaic, which are not found in the Arabic. It differs also still further from the latter, for example, in the formation of the Imperfect and case-endings (excepting the accusative). In many respects it has preserved an ancient type as have all the Semitic languages, among which it stands alone and peculiar through the development of the *u* having the guttural and palatal sound.

In the fourteenth century after Christ this language, by a change of dynasty, was displaced by the Amharic dialect which is still spoken in Habesh, while the Ge'ez language remained only for sacred and ecclesiastical uses. The present dialects, the Tigre and Tigrina, are to be regarded as a dialectical development of the Ge'ez, with which the Amharic stands in remote relationship.

The Arabic, which has most faithfully preserved the Semitic type, is one of the richest and most polished and, by its diffusion and importance for literary and historical purposes, one of the most remarkable languages of the world. What we call the Arabic is the northern—the chief dialect spoken at Mecca, the language of the Koran, and which was made by Mohammed the language of literature and general intercourse. The Arabic literature and, of course, our knowledge of the language begins shortly before Mohammed with numerous poems of diverse character, followed by the Koran. After the first Abbasides and the building of Bagdad (in the ninth century), besides being used in the national literature, it flourished also indeed on foreign soil and was employed in treating of scientific subjects, as philosophy, mathematics, and the natural sciences. The true national literature of the Arabians consists in an important succession of poets, grammarians and rhetoricians, historians and geographers, which closes only with the fourteenth century after Christ. A language like the Arabic could hardly be wanting in dialectical variations, and it is worthy of note that many of its dialectical peculiarities agree more with the Hebrew than does the common

written Arabic language. This is true especially of the so-called vulgar Arabic. This exhibits again various dialects, as at the present time an Algerian, an Egyptian, a Maltesian, and a Syrian.

We have already remarked that in the fifth century before Christ the Babylonio-Assyrian and the Hebrew yielded to the Aramaic. With the advent and diffusion of Islamism the Arabic became the dominant language not only in the old Semitic lands, but also beyond these, not only in Middle and Northern Arabia, in Palestine, Syria and the Euphrates region, but also from the north-west of Africa along the entire northern coast to Egypt inclusive, small tracts of country excepted, where at the present time the Aramaic still prevails, or where, as in Abyssinia the Amharic, or, as in Southern Arabia, a daughter-language of the Sabæan—the Machri, is spoken.

If we consider the age of the literary works preserved to us in the different Semitic languages, we meet with this peculiar phenomenon, that the literature of that Semitic people whose language is marked by the greatest antiquity of forms, namely, of the Arabian people, is in respect of age the youngest. After this, going backwards, we should first meet the Æthiopic, then the Aramaic, then the Phœnician monuments which have been preserved to us. Then would follow the New Babylonian and the oldest Southern Arabic inscriptions, then the Assyrian. Next following would be the oldest portions of Old Testament literature, as the song of Deborah, parts of the Pentateuch, etc. The highest age would be adjudged to the Old Babylonian monuments, to the oldest Semitico-Babylonian royal inscriptions, to the so-called Izdubar-legends, etc. There lies then between the oldest assignable date of the Assyro-Babylonian literature and that of the oldest Arabic a period of more than 2000 years.

We have now, having attempted a survey of the Semitic races and languages, to pass to the question of the character of the Semites, and to point out what part they have accomplished in the general work of civilization as in contradistinction from the Indo-Germans. In the first place, the keen dialectics of the understanding, the aiming above every thing at logical separation and analysis, has been pointed out as characteristic of the Semites in contrast with the comprehensive intuition and thought of the Indo-Germans. With the latter there is a tendency from the particular to the general under which it is comprehended, while with the former it is from the general to the particular into which it is analyzed. Accordingly the Semite, especially the Hebrew, has no word for world. He designates the same—and we find this in the first verse of the Old Testament—by the two-fold name of Heaven and Earth. And as illustrative of the peculiarities of Semitic grammar as contrasted with the Indo-German: the blending into unity of the diverse elements of the latter, is wanting in the former. The Semitic, with the exception of proper names, knows nothing of compounding, nothing of arranging matter in periods; the thoughts follow each other without connection.

If now we must concede to the Semites greater gifts of reasoning, greater consistency of thought, and also greater energy of action and feeling than those which characterize the Indo-Germans, on the other hand we must grant to the latter greater diversity of talent, greater originality, which has fitted them for performances in which they stand incomparably higher than the Semites, with whom at the same time the undiminished merit will ever remain, that they—we speak here of the civilization derived from Babylon—mediately transmitted the elements of civilization, important to the Indo-Germans and first borrowed indeed by other nations, and that later, as this was done through the Arabians, they then appropriated for half a thousand years the culture created by the Indo-Germans, and so saved the western lands.

A natural disposition for monotheism has been ascribed to the Semites, and it has been asserted that this is the original form of religion with all the Semites. But proof of this assertion has not yet been produced. The religion of the people passing for the oldest civilized Semitic nation, is in its first and oldest phase polytheistic. As regards the Israelitish nation, we find indeed monotheism with them; but this was not developed in a natural way from their history. There is no stronger argument against the assumption of a natural disposition to monotheism on the part of this people, than is furnished in their own history, which shows us what sorrows befel them, till they learned, immovably to hold by one God, who had revealed himself as their Redeemer. Finally, in regard to the Arabians, the religion of the old pre-Islamitish Arabians is fundamentally a star-worship, and the monotheism introduced by Mahomet is no product of an Arabian Semiticism, but flowed from the two monotheistic religions, the Jewish and the Christian, which already at the time of Mohamet had gained a strong footing on the Arabian peninsula.

THE HEBREW SYNONYMS בָּקַשׁ AND דָּרַשׁ.

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The difference in meaning in these verbs is so slight that they are generally used indiscriminately to express the idea of seeking or searching. The primary meaning of בָּקַשׁ seems to be to *cleave*, with the purpose of penetrating a thing to ascertain its contents. It does not designate a searching with the hands, i. e., a *feeling, groping* after something, as the habit of the blind is, which idea is expressed by גָּשׁ, מָשַׁשׁ, or חָפַשׁ (ψηλαφάω). On the contrary, it presupposes the power and use of vision, viz., to *look into* a thing, or to *look after* something not in sight, hence to seek. דָּרַשׁ reaches a similar idea of seeking from the primary meaning of *rubbing*, or wearing off the surface, and so of penetrating, breaking in, for the purpose of finding something.

From their common relation to material things ("The asses which thou wentest to seek," לִבְקֹשׁ, 1 Sam. x., 2; "And Moses diligently sought, דָּרַשׁ דָּרַשׁ, the goat," Lev. x., 16), both words pass into higher spiritual relationships; but, while still almost parallel in meaning, we perceive a tendency to differentiation. דָּרַשׁ develops a spiritual meaning more frequently and profoundly than בָּקַשׁ. The latter even in its higher application to prayer or supplication, whether offered to an earthly monarch (Esther iv., 8; Neh. ii., 4), or to God (Ezra viii., 23), looks more to the external act, while the former looks more to the internal state or attitude of the suppliant. בָּקַשׁ, accordingly, is used in the common phrase *to seek the face of Jehovah*, a theocratic expression for appearing before him in his temple, the place where his "face" or presence is revealed, and where he enters into intercourse with his people (Ps. xxiv., 6; xxvii., 8, etc.). In the simpler phrase, לִבְקֹשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה *to seek the Lord*, this term still preserves its outward, theocratic aspect toward the worship centering in Jerusalem, as in 2 Chron. xi., 16, "Such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel came to Jerusalem to sacrifice;" xx., 4, "Out of all the cities of Judah they came to seek the Lord;" Zach. viii., 22, "Many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem." But when, on the contrary, Jehovah is approached, not for the purposes of ordinary worship, but with an anxious desire to obtain his help in some personal (Gen. xxv., 22), or national (2 Chron. xxxiv., 21) danger, or to ascertain his will in respect to any contemplated enterprise (1 Kgs. xxxii., 5), דָּרַשׁ is invariably used, for this directs attention to the inner condition of the mind or heart, rather than to the mere outward act. This distinction is very apparent in such a passage as Deut. iv., 29, "If from thence ye shall seek, בִּקְשֶׁתֶּם, the Lord

thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou search, תִּדְרֹשְׁנוּ, for him with all thy heart and all thy soul." That the condition implied in בָּקַשְׁתֶּם was regarded as literally as circumstances permitted after the people had been carried into captivity, we learn from Dan. ix., 3. The exiled prophet could not present himself before Jehovah in the temple, for it lay in ruins. But he who habitually prayed with his windows "open toward Jerusalem," would certainly not neglect to do so when on an occasion of supreme importance, he "set his face unto the Lord God, to seek, לִבְקֹשׁ, prayer and supplications, in fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes." Here the preponderating reference in the word plainly is to the external, elaborately formal aspect of the seeking, while the burdened spirit of the suppliant is sufficiently indicated in the prayer itself.

Far more than בָּקַשׁ, דָּרַשׁ points to a real trouble or concern of the soul that exhibits itself in an active striving after the person or thing which is sought. Hence it becomes the most appropriate, as it certainly is the most frequent, term used to denote the soul's seeking after God. When used in connection with the law of the Lord, it points to a seeking for that which does not lie upon the surface, but which can only be attained by a deeper penetration into its spirit. "I have sought, דָּרַשְׁתִּי, thy precepts," Ps. cxix., 94; "Ezra prepared his heart to seek, לִדְרֹשׁ, the law of the Lord," Ezr. vii., 10, i. e., to study it so as to master its contents. Hence מְדָרֵשׁ, a study or commentary on an inspired writing, a search into its deeper sense. But when a mere outward, superficial knowledge of the law is spoken of, such as the people received from the priests, Mal. ii., 7, בָּקַשׁ is the word used.

In many, perhaps most, occurrences, these words may be rendered, as in fact they are, by *seek*, *querere*, ζητεῖν; yet in many places the inclination of the one toward the outward, formal act, and of the other toward the inner spiritual process, is quite manifest, even when it may not be possible to carry this distinction into a translation, as in Ps. cv., 4, דָּרְשׁוּ יְהוָה וְעֹזוּ בִּקְשׁוּ פָנָיו תָּמִיד, where the A.V. renders both verbs by *seek*, the Vulg. by *querite*, and the LXX. by ζητήσατε.

HEBREW POETRY.

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At the request of Prof. W. R. Harper I propose to give a series of articles upon Hebrew Poetry, in order to set forth the doctrine of its structure. Those who desire information with regard to the history of the discussions on this subject will find it briefly set forth in my *Biblical Study* (pp. 255 seq.). It is sufficient to state here that the statements of Josephus, Eusebius and Jerome that Hebrew Poetry is composed of hexameters, pentameters and trimeters are essentially correct. But we must banish from our minds any measurement of the feet such as we find in Greek, Latin and Arabic poetry. Moreover, we cannot agree with Dr. Bickell that Hebrew poetry is measured by syllables, without regard to quantity, as in Syriac poetry, so that there is a constant succession of accented and unaccented syllables, and hence either iambic or trochaic feet. Hebrew poetry is at a still earlier stage of development than Syriac poetry. It does not count the syllables or measure the feet; but it counts the words and measures by the beats of the accent.

The Măqqēph is used in the Massoretic system as a guide to cantillation. It is frequently placed where the rhythm requires it. But cantillation is very different from the proper rendering of poetry. It is necessary, therefore, to disregard the Massoretic Măqqēphs. However, the use of the Măqqēph for cantillation rests upon an older use for the rhythm. The Măqqēphs must be inserted, therefore, wherever the rhythm requires it, for this is a device whereby two or more words are combined under one rhythmical accent.

I. THE HEBREW TRIMETER.

The simplest and earliest form of Hebrew verse is the trimeter, measured by three rhythmical accents. There are dimeter lines, but there is no piece of poetry in the Hebrew Bible that is constructed of dimeters. They are used merely to give variation to the trimeters, especially at the beginning or close of a strophe, or where it is important that there should be a pause in the movement of the thought or emotion.

The Book of Numbers has preserved for us several pieces of poetry that are ascribed to Balaam. These all have the trimeter movement. We shall use them as illustrations, and from them, by induction, describe the several kinds of parallelism.

מִן-אֲרָם יָחֲנִי בִלְקָם
מִלֶּךְ-מוֹאב מֵהָרִי קָדְמָם

לכה ארה-לי יעקב
ולכה זעמה ישראל
מה-אקב לא-קבה אל
ומה-אזעם לא-זעם יהוה
כי-מראש צרים אראנו
ומן גבעות אשורנו
הן-עם לברד ישכן
ובגוים לא יתחשב
מי-מנה עפר יעקב
ומי-ספר את-רבע ישראל
תמת נפשי מות-ישרים
ותהי אחריתי כמהו

Numbers xxiii., 7-10.

Every line has the three rhythmical accents except the eighth, which is a dimeter. Such lines frequently occur in the trimeters. They were often designed by the poet; but there are instances in which we may doubt whether the Massoretic text has preserved the original line of the poem. There are also examples where the secondary accent of a long word has the power of a rhythmical accent. It is our opinion that line 8 of our poem, in its original form, read—

ומן גבעות אשורנו

There is no consistency of usage in the Massoretic text in the use of the preposition **מן**. Sometimes it is separable and at other times inseparable, and again it is separable and combined by a *Māqqēph*. Mistakes of copyists were so easy here that we cannot be sure, in many cases, in which way the original text existed. And in the lines of poetry, where there is no clear reason for departing from the rhythm, the prepositions should be separable or inseparable, as the rhythm requires. In this piece we have removed one Massoretic *Māqqēph* in line 2, where it combines two words of four syllables under one accent and reduces the line to a dimeter. We have inserted the *Māqqēph* in four cases, in no instance making more than three syllables. We have corrected the text of line 12 after Orelli, in accordance with the parallelism, so as to read **מי ספר** instead of **מספר**. We translate this piece into English prose, preserving the parallelisms:—

1. From Aram Balaq brings me,
2. The King of Moab from the mountains of the East;
3. "O come, curse for me Jacob,
4. And O come, execrate Israel."
5. How can I denounce whom 'El doth not denounce?
6. Or how can I execrate what Jahveh doth not execrate?
7. For from the top of the rocks I see him,
8. And from the hills I spy him.
9. Lo, a people alone, he dwelleth,

10. And he reckons himself not among the nations.
11. Who hath numbered the dust of Jacob ?
12. Or who hath counted the fourth of Israel ?
13. Let me, myself, die the death of the upright,
14. And let my last end be like his.—(Num. xxiii., 7-10.)

There are several fine specimens of parallelism in this piece. Lines 5 and 6 give us a complete synonymous distich in which the three terms are synonymous with each other, "denounce" with "execrate," twice, and "'El" with "Jahveh." Lines 11 and 12 are synonymous in two terms, "counted" with "numbered," and "Israel" with "Jacob," but there is a progress in the third term from "dust" to "fourth part." Lines 1 and 2 are synonymous in "King of Moab" with "Balaq" and "mountains of the East" with "Aram," but the third term of line 1 does not appear in line 2; it is implied, however. Lines 3 and 4 give the second and third terms as synonymous, but the first term is identical. Lines 9 and 10 are synonymous in thought, but there is no close correspondence of the terms. Lines 13 and 14 give the synonymous parallels in the single term "last end" and "death," but in other respects the thought is synonymous without exact correspondence of terms. Thus this poem is composed of seven couplets all synonymous and yet varying, so that sometimes the correspondence is in a single term, and then it extends to two or three terms, and then again it is general and without correspondence of any one term with its mate.

The second poem of Balaam (Num. xxiii., 18-24) has the same trimeter movement, but it extends to twenty-two lines. There is but one short line (l. 20). But this may be explained in the same way as in the previous poem, by making the preposition separable (cf. Exod. xv., 5). We remove the Mäqqēphs in three instances and insert them in four cases:—

1. Rise up, Balaq, and hear thou,
2. O give ear unto me, son of Zippor.
3. 'El is no man that he should lie,
4. Neither a son of mankind that he should be sorry.
5. Hath he said and will he not do it ?
6. Or hath he spoken and will he not establish it ?
7. Lo, to bless I have received (commandment);
8. And if he bless I cannot reverse it.
9. He doth not behold trouble in Jacob,
10. And he doth not see misery in Israel.
11. Jahveh his God is with him,
12. And the shout of a king is in him.
13. 'El has been bringing him out of Egypt,
14. As the swiftness of the yore-ox has he.
15. For there is no magic in Jacob,

16. And no divination in Israel;
17. At the due time it will be said of Jacob,
18. And of Israel, what hath 'El wrought!
19. Behold, the people rises up as a lioness,
20. And as a lion lifts himself up:
21. He will not lie down until he devour prey
22. And drink the blood of the slain.—(Num. xxiii., 18-24.)

There is synonymous parallelism of three terms in lines 5 and 6, 9 and 10, 15 and 16; of two terms in lines 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 19 and 20, 21 and 22; of one term in lines 7 and 8, and 11 and 12. There are several distichs that present new features. Lines 13 and 14 give progressive parallelism, in that line 14 is a complement of 13. "'El has been bringing him out of Egypt," and in this bringing up he is like the gigantic ox of ancient times. The progression here is in the form of a simile. Lines 17 and 18 give a specimen of the marching parallelism. The RV. mistakes it by attaching "of Israel" to the previous line, destroying the rhythm of both lines and the parallelism at the same time. The first member of line 18 is synonymous with the last member of line 17, and from this as a base the line advances to the climax "What hath 'El wrought!" Lines 7 and 8 give a specimen of mixed parallelism. There is the identical term "bless" which serves to emphasize the antithetical parallelism in the single term "reverse" with "received."

The third poem of Balaam (Num. xxiv., 3-9) has exactly the same structure and length as the second poem. We remove two Māqqēphs and insert three. We amend the text by omitting the relative pronoun of line 4, as a prosaic addition to the text. It is not common to use the relative pronoun in Hebrew poetry. No poet would destroy his rhythm by using it where it is unnecessary. We change the Massoretic accents of verses 6 and 7 so as to read—

משכנתִּיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכִנְחָלִים
נְשִׂי וְכִנּוּת וְעַל־נֶהֱר

The text of verse 8 is corrupt and the versions differ in their renderings. The Massoretic חֵץ = arrow, is against the context, which refers to the yore-ox and the lion, and the use of arrows is inappropriate to these animals. It seems to us that the original reading of line 18 was

וְעִצְמֹתֵיהֶם יִגְרֹם וְיִמְחֹץ

The Massoretic וְיִמְחֹץ has arisen by a mistake in rewriting the end letters ח and צ. There are three dimeter lines, e. g., 14, 21 and 22, where the variation seems to be intentional.

1. The oracle of Balaam, son of Beor;
2. Yea, the oracle of the man with closed eyes,
3. The oracle of one hearing the sayings of 'El,
4. Who beholds the vision of Shadday

5. Fallen down and with eyes uncovered.
6. How excellent are thy tents, Jacob,
7. Thy tabernacles, Israel, as vales,
8. Spread forth as gardens by a river,
9. As lign-aloes which Jahveh planted,
10. As cedars beside waters.
11. May water flow from his buckets,
12. And his seed be on many waters,
13. And may his king be higher than Agag,
14. And may his kingdom exalt itself,
15. 'El has been bringing him forth from Egypt,
16. Yea, as the swiftness of the yore-ox has he.
17. He eateth up the nations his adversaries,
18. And their bones gnaweth and crusheth,
19. He doth couch, doth lie down as the lion,
20. And as a lioness ; who would stir him up ?
21. Blessed be those blessing thee,
22. And cursed be those cursing thee.

This poem gives additional features of parallelism. The poem opens with a pentastich describing the condition of the prophet under the influence of the prophetic mania. The first three lines begin with an identical term, "oracle." The second line has its second term synonymous with the second term of the first line, but its third term is a new idea, "with closed eyes." The third line has its second term synonymous, but its third term is new, "sayings of 'El." The fourth line gives three terms which are synonymous with the second and third terms of the previous line. The fifth line is progressive to the fourth, presenting a new thought in the climax of the pentastich.

We then have a second pentastich. Lines 6 and 7 have two terms in synonymous parallelism, but the third term of line 7 is progressive in the simile "as vales." This is followed by three other similes in steady synthesis of the lines.

We have next two tetrastichs, the first composed of two synonymous couplets. The second begins with a tetrastich in which Israel is compared with a yore-ox. Line 16 is progressive to line 15. Lines 17 and 18 are synonymous, save that the object is emphasized in line 17, "nations, his adversaries;" but the verb is emphasized in line 18, "gnaweth and crusheth." We next have a distich which is synonymous in the terms "lion" with "lioness," in order to the strong antithesis of "doth couch, doth lie down" with "who will stir him up?" The poem closes with an antithetical distich.

The fourth poem of Balaam is composed of a longer piece and several short ones (Num. xxiv., 15-24). The larger poem is composed of sixteen lines describing the subjugation of Moab and Edom to Israel. The oracle against the Ama-

lekites is a distich, and those against the Kenites and Assyria, tetrastichs. We remove one Māqqēph and insert five. We change the text by transferring "his enemies" to line 16. It is a plural and inappropriate, where it is, both to the structure of the line and the sense. It is, moreover, needed in line 16 to supply the verb with an object and complete the line. Furthermore, the line to which it is attached is a repetition of the previous line, with the single exception of the use of Seir for Edom, and it should be stricken out. We also change the meaningless מעיר into שעיר in line 17. There is but one dimeter in this poem and it is where we would expect it, at the beginning of the oracle against the Kenites.

1. Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor,
2. Yea, oracle of the man with closed eyes,
3. Oracle of one hearing the sayings of 'El,
4. And of one knowing the knowledge of 'Elyon,
5. Who beholds the vision of Shadday,
6. Fallen down and with eyes open.
7. I see it, but it is not now;
8. I observe it, but it is not near;
9. A star doth advance out of Jacob,
10. Yea, a sceptre doth arise out of Israel,
11. And it doth smite through the corners of Moab,
12. And it doth break down all the sons of tumult.
13. And Edom has become a possession.
14. Yea, Israel is a doer of valient deeds,
15. Yea, let one out of Jacob have dominion over his enemies
16. And destroy the remnant of Seir.

The parallelisms of this piece present few additional features. The poem opens with a hexastich. It differs from the first pentastich of the previous poem only by the insertion of an additional line (l. 4) which is entirely synonymous with the previous line. This hexastich is followed by another hexastich which is composed of three synonymous couplets. These three couplets are completely synonymous within themselves, but are each progressive to its predecessor. The poem concludes with a tetrastich of introverted parallelism, that is, the last line of the four is in synonymous parallelism with the first line. The middle lines are also in synonymous parallelism, save that the third line has an additional term defining more closely the dominion.

The oracle against Amalek is an antithetical distich:

First of the nations was Amalek,
But his last end (extends) unto one ready to perish.

The oracle against the Kenites is a tetrastich composed of antithetical couplets:

Strong is thy dwelling-place,
 And set in the rock thy nest :
 Nevertheless Kain will be for wasting ;
 How long ere Asshur carry thee away captive ?
 The oracle against Asshur is a progressive tetrastich :
 Alas, who can live when 'El establishes it ?
 But ships will come from the coast of Kittim,
 And afflict Asshur and afflict Eber,
 But he also shall go on unto one ready to perish.

These four poems of Balaam illustrate the regular flow of the trimeter movement in Hebrew poetry and the great variety of parallelisms. I give a reproduction of the Hebrew trimeter in English poetry by my pupil George H. Gilbert, Ph. D., who has succeeded in reproducing the sublime Poem of Job in English poetry of the same movement.

If I with falsehood have walked,
 And my foot hasted after deceit—
 Let Him weigh me in righteous scales,
 That Eloah my virtue may know !
 If my step turned aside from the way,
 And my heart followed after my eyes,
 And a blemish did cleave in my palm :
 Let me sow, and another one eat,
 And my shoots, let them be rooted up.—(xxxI., 5-8.)
 If gold I have made my support,
 And to fine gold have said, O my trust !
 If I joyed that my wealth was great,
 And my hand had acquired much goods ;
 If I saw the light when it shone,
 And the moon in majesty moving ;
 If my heart became foolish in secret,
 And my hand did cleave to my mouth :
 This, too, were a crime for the judges,
 For to God above I had lied.—(xxxI., 24-28.)

In our next article we propose to present some specimens of the strophical organization of the trimeters and also examples of the use of rhyme, assonance and alliteration.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

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Nebuchadrezzar I.—In *HEBRAICA*, January, 1885, I called attention to certain difficulties in the way of attributing to Nebuchadrezzar I. the Boundary Stone Inscription (V. R. LV.—LIX.). Further consideration has induced me to suppose that the inscription is in reality an historical inscription of Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar (cf. *Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Jan., 1886). So far as I know no reason has been assigned for attributing the inscription to Nebuchadrezzar I., 1150 B. C. (cf. *HEBRAICA*, Oct., 1884, p. 118). We know nothing about this monarch, except what we learn from the Synchronous History (II R., LXV.), that he was defeated by Aššurešiši, father of Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria. This inscription was assigned to Nebuchadrezzar I. without argument, and has been accepted apparently without demur. I must, therefore, imagine the arguments which I shall endeavor to answer.

(1) The characters used are archaic. This, as all know, is something very common in the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar. The characters used in the Boundary Stone can be matched almost character for character from a Nebuchadrezzar inscription in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*HEBRAICA*, Jan., 1885, p. 185), and my chief aid in deciphering the latter was Hilprecht's edition of the former. The characters on the Boundary Stone are not unlike the archaic script of the great East India Company Inscription (I R., LIII.—LXIV.).

(2) The titles given to Nebuchadrezzar. Other Nebuchadrezzar inscriptions agree in celebrating that monarch as a great builder, more particularly as "the restorer of E-saggil and E-zida," and in adorning him with a number of religious titles. The Boundary Stone Inscription, on the other hand, ascribes to its Nebuchadrezzar chiefly warlike titles. In explanation of this difference it must be remembered that the other Nebuchadrezzar inscriptions are all of them votive and architectural, the Boundary Stone alone is military and administrative. We should expect different titles. For example, the titles given to Ašurbanipal in the barrel cylinder from Aboo-Habba (V R., LXII.; cf. *HEBRAICA*, Jan., 1886) are so colored by the votive and architectural character of the inscription, that we can scarcely recognize the war-waging monarch familiar to us elsewhere. The character of titles to be used is largely determined by the contents of the inscription to follow. This will explain the absence of the customary votive and architectural titles from a military and administrative inscription. The method of titu-

lation in this inscription is, however, singularly like that employed in the well-known Nebuchadrezzar inscriptions. The great inscription, above referred to, spends twenty-two lines in heaping up titles appropriate to a devout temple-builder. Out of a total of 100 lines the inscription in the Metropolitan Museum devotes sixteen to a similar accumulation of religious and architectural titles (HEBRAICA, April, 1885). In a precisely similar manner the Boundary Stone inscription opens with eleven lines in which titles appropriate to a warrior and fixer of boundaries are heaped one upon another (Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch., April, 1884). But besides the general resemblance of style and method, there are, further, several specific points of resemblance. *Rubu nâdu* "prince glorious," *narâm Marduk* "favorite of Marduk," *šar kinâti ša dîn mišari idinnu* "king of justice who judges righteous judgment" have identical or similar parallels in almost every Nebuchadrezzar inscription of any length.

(3) The Nebuchadrezzar of the Boundary Stone does not call himself son of Nabopolassar, whereas in the votive and architectural inscriptions, and on the stamped bricks, of which we have so many, the great Nebuchadrezzar always so calls himself. This does, of course, establish a negative presumption against the Boundary Stone Inscription. But, assuming Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar to be the author, an exact parallel can be found in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria (Lotz, Tig. Pil.). The stamped bricks of that monarch, and the inscription found at the source of the Tigris, call him the son of *Aššurešiši*, but in the great prisma inscription his father's name is not mentioned. Similarly in the Bavian and prisma inscriptions Sennacherib omits all mention of his father. It should be said further that, if the Nebuchadrezzar of the Boundary Stone does not call himself son of Nabopolassar, neither does he call himself son of any one else.

But there is, also, a strong positive argument in favor of ascribing the Boundary Stone Inscription to Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar. As soon as the recitation of titles is completed (l. 12) Marduk is introduced as inspiring Nebuchadrezzar to act. This, even to the phraseology used, is a genuine finger-mark of Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar (cf., in addition to the inscriptions above cited, the Borsippa and Senkereh cylinders, I R., LI., the Philipps' barrel I R., LXV., etc.).

In the Boundary Stone Inscription (col. i., 10) Nebuchadrezzar calls himself *kašid mat aḥarri* "subduer of the West-land." Now a comparison of the Synchronous History and the Hebrew records seems to justify us in affirming with a fair degree of positiveness that a king of Babylon did not subdue Phœnicia or Palestine in 1150 B. C. On the other hand, we have evidence that Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar did subdue those countries.

In the Boundary Stone Inscription (col. i., 43) Nebuchadrezzar claims to have conquered Elam. Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel testify that Nebuchadrezzar son of

Nabopolassar conquered that country (Jer. xxv., 25; xlix., 34 seq.; Ezek. xxxii., 24).

These are the reasons which oblige us to attribute the Boundary Stone Inscription to Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabopolassar. The references in Jer. xlix., 24 seq., and Ezek. xxxii., 17, 24, fix the date of the events narrated in this inscription between 595 B. C. and 585 B. C.

Eine unedirte Nebukadnezar-Inschrift.—Under this title Dr. Bezold publishes in the January number of the *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie*, from three small cylinders in the British Museum, a short inscription of Nebuchadrezzar, consisting of thirty-six half lines in all, regarding the restoration of the temple of NIN MAG in Babylon. In his *Expedition en Mesopotamie*, i., 237, M. Oppert published the same inscription from a cylinder in the collection of the Duc de Luynes; and, if I remember aright, he mentions three other identical cylinders, one in the Louvre, and two in Berlin. There is another specimen of the same cylinder in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. This latter is not so well preserved as those of which Dr. Bezold made use; but fortunately it is entirely legible in one half-line (34), where Dr. Bezold has been forced to resort to conjecture. It does not confirm his conjecture.

The Date of Sargon of Akkad.—In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Nov., 1882, appeared Mr. Pinches' notice of the famous cylinder of Aboo-Habba (V R., LXIV.), in which Nabonidus tells of his discovery of "the cylinder of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which for *three thousand two hundred years* no king before me had seen." This would make the date of Naram-Sin 3750 B. C., and that of Sargon about 3800 B. C. Since Mr. Pinches' discovery, these dates seem to have been universally accepted. Now it seems to me that, tested in the same way in which we test Hebrew numbers, the number 3200 can not be maintained, on present evidence at least. In 1 Kgs. vi., 1, we are told that Solomon began to build the temple in the 480th year from the exodus. Most scholars, I suppose, regard this, not as an accurate number, but as the Hebrew way of expressing "twelve generations." Forty years is their reckoning of a generation, as in the wanderings in the wilderness, and more than once in the Book of Judges. The writer of those words in 1 Kgs. vi., 1, simply counted up twelve generations of names, and expressed the result, after the Hebrew idiom, as stated above. The number 3200, of which Nabonidus makes use, is a round number, divisible by forty. I think the scribes of Nabonidus have reckoned after the method just outlined. They counted up eighty names between Nabonidus and Naram-Sin, and expressed that number of generations by the proper multiple of forty, which is 3200. The number 3200, then, means nothing more than eighty generations. Now, in actual practice a generation, particularly a royal generation, is much less

than forty years. The eponym canon gives the average length of reign of the Assyrian kings as nineteen years. In Judah, taking the Bible numbers, from David to Josiah inclusive, the average length is twenty-seven years. In Israel, taking the Bible numbers from David to Jeroboam II. inclusive, twenty years. Averaging these, then, we should have twenty-two years for a royal generation. The Babylonian canon of Ptolemy, from *Καμψιδάδου* to *Ἀρωγού* inclusive, gives the same average. Multiplying twenty-two by eighty we obtain 1760 years, in place of Nabonidus' 3200. This would place Naram-Sin about 2400 B. C., and Sargon about 2450 B. C.; dates not far removed from those conjectured for the earliest Babylonian monarchs before this discovery was made. The dated tablets noticed in the Proceedings of the Soc. Bib. Arch. for May, 1884, and the astronomical argument with reference to the Izdubar epic and the precession of the equinox both seem to me to harmonize better with the later than with the earlier date.

Hebrew Use of Numbers.—The use of forty as a round number, and of forty years for "generation" has been often commented upon, but I do not think attention has been sufficiently directed to an analogous use of certain other numbers. So "five" is often used as we use "few" or "half-a-dozen," and "two" as we use "couple."

"FIVE:" Gen. XLIII., 34; XLV., 22; XLVII., 2; Lev. XXVI., 8; Judg. XVIII., 2; 1 Sam. XVI., 20 (for חמור substitute חמשה), XVII., 40; XXI., 3; XXV., 18, 42; 2 Kgs. VII., 18; XVIII., 19; XXV., 19; Isa. XVII., 6; XIX., 18; XXX., 17; Matt. XIV., 17; 1 Cor. XIV., 19.

"Two:" Gen. IV., 24; XXII., 22; Deut. XVII., 6; Judg. V., 30; XI., 37; 1 Sam. XXV., 18; 1 Kgs. XX., 27; 2 Kgs. II., 24 (?); V., 22 (?); Isa. XVII., 6; Hos. VI., 2; Amos IV., 8; Matt. XIV., 17.

This use of "two" involves a somewhat analogous use of "three" as its complement, as in Hos. VI., 2. Compare, for example, the Hebrew idiom "yesterday the third day," etc., Deut. XIX., 4; 1 Sam. IV., 7; XIX., 7; 2 Sam. III., 17; XIII., 4; and the corresponding idiom for future time, Luke XIII., 32.

Numbers II., 1, 17, etc., give us an example of the literalizing and rendering accurate of this general and indefinite use under the influence of a precise ritual. The origin of this use of "five," as also the similar use of "ten" as a round number, like our "dozen," is to be found, presumably, in finger counting (cf. Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch., May, 1883.)

The use of the numbers "ten" and "seven" has received more or less attention. The multiple of those two numbers is used in Hebrew to indicate indefinite extent, Gen. IV., 24; Judg. IX., 56; 2 Kgs. X., 1; Jer. XXV., 11; XXIX., 10 (cf. 28); Matt. XVIII., 22. Also, as a variation from the above, "seventy years" is used to indicate the period of a long, or full life, Isa. XXIII., 15, 17; Ps. XC., 10, and, perhaps, Gen. V., 12; XI., 26; Exod. I., 5.

Amos VI., 2.—In his K.A.T. (444 seq.), Prof. Schrader calls attention to the historical references in this verse as indicating a date as late as 711 B. C. He also quotes Prof. Bickell to show that grammatically and metrically the verse bears every mark of being an interpolation. Any one who will read Amos VI., 1-7, in the original, omitting the second verse, and then read it supplying that verse, will need, I think, no further argument to convince him of the correctness of Prof. Bickell's view. But the same thing occurs in at least one other passage in the same book. In IV., 13, a song is commenced, and at once dropped, to be resumed again in the same meter in V., 8, 9. In this case the inserted matter is itself of a poetical character, and seems to be of the nature of a discursive comment, suggested by the first verse of the song. In the former case the inserted matter, which is prose, is also of the nature of a comment in support of the first verse of the song. On merely metrical grounds it is impossible to affirm that such comments do or do not come from the hand of the prophet. As to the historical references, it must not be forgotten that it is quite possible for Amos to have been alive in 711 B. C. The earliest reference in his book which we can date is, apparently, the reference to the eclipse of 763 B. C. (VIII., 9). The date 711 B. C. for Amos VI., 2, agrees in a very interesting manner with Prov. XXV., 1. Putting the two together, we see that Hezekiah did not merely cause a collection of the proverbs of Solomon to be made, but that that was a part of a collection of writings to constitute a library. Presumably the idea of a library, like the step-clock of Ahaz (2 Kgs. XX., 11), was due to Assyrian influence. Amos VI., 2 is a finger-mark, showing the book to have been edited, whether by the prophet himself or by royal scribes, for the library of Hezekiah. The Book of Hosea seems to me to bear, but less distinctly, marks of a similar editing.

Amos V., 6.—כְּרִידִי in this verse seems to be a metrical error. The word belongs neither to the first half of the verse, nor to the last half. It is a gloss of the simplest character like אֶת מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר וְאֶת-כָּל-כְּבוֹדוֹ in Isa. VIII., 7.

Isaiah VII., 14.—There is a striking resemblance between this verse and Gen. XVI., 11.

(Isa. VII., 14.).....הָרָה וְיִלְדֵת בֵּן וּקְרָאתָ שְׁמוֹ עֲמֹנִי אֵל

(Gen. XVI., 11.)...הָרָה וְיִלְדֵת בֵּן וּקְרָאתָ שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁמָעֵל אֵל

Is there any proper ground for translating the tenses differently in the two verses?

THE WORD "KIDRON."

BY REV. THOS. LAURIE,

Providence, R. I.

The New Revision, in a marginal note opposite John XVIII., 1, gives, as the interpretation of the name Kidron, "of the cedars." I hardly dare to question the interpretation of such learned men, and yet I am perplexed by it. It is very true that *κέδρος* in Greek means "cedar tree," and of course *κέδρων* would mean "of the cedars." But then the question arises, Was Greek the language our Savior spoke? The words Talitha kumi, Ephphatha and L'ma Sabacthani would seem to indicate that, at least in ordinary intercourse, he spoke Aramean; so that the name of a place, or, as in this case, the glen of a winter torrent, would not be likely to be derived from a foreign language, but from the vernacular. Add to this the fact that here we have a word familiar to all Arabs, who speak, in the language of common conversation, of *Moi Kidder muddy* (or, as a Scotchman would say, *drumlie*) *water*; just as the opposite is *Moi Safie clear water*. In written Arabic it is *مَا كَدَارَ* (Ma Kadara).

In the Hebrew, Gesenius gives *כֶּדֶר* to be *turbid*, and, as *כ* and *ק* are often used interchangeably, *קֶדֶרֶן* *The Turbid*, and says expressly, it is the proper name of the brook or torrent flowing in winter through the valley between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. A full description of it is given in Robinson's *Palestine*, I., pp. 396-402, 1st ed. On this last page he tells us that—

"It is nothing more than the dry bed of a wintry torrent, bearing marks of being occasionally swept over by a large volume of water. No stream flows here now except during the heavy rains of winter. Yet even in winter there is no constant flow, and our friends (missionaries), who had resided several years in the city, had never seen a stream running in the valley."

Of course such a stream, when it did flow, would be very *drumlie*, or, as the Arabs would say, *kidder*, and what name more fitting for such a *nāḥāl* than the Hebrew form of it, Kidron,—not the wady of the cedars, but the wady of muddy, turbid water.

It may be said that Westcott and Hort's Revised Text of the Greek New Testament settles the question in favor of the rendering of the New Revision. But that is fairly open to question, on the following grounds:—

1. The MSS. on which that Revision rests for authority were not the original MSS. of the inspired writers, but copies made at many removes from the originals, and some of them as near to our own date as to that of the original writing.

2. These MSS. differ among themselves, and, in some passages, more recent transcripts seem to be more correct than older ones. Moreover, the selection

made between different readings is made on grounds not absolutely certain, but only probable, and in some cases the degree of probability is less inthan others.

3. Many transcribers of the New Testament have dealt less scrupulously with their MSS. than the Jews did with those of the Old Testament, and have ventured to alter and amend the text, sometimes bringing in a sentence from another place that seemed to guard the text from misconception, or make it plainer, and sometimes adding what in their estimation rounded out the narrative.

4. Many of these emendations had reference to names. Hebrew names were made to wear a Greek dress, e. g., *Elias* for *Eljah*, *Eliuseus* for *Elisha*, and *Esaias* for *Isaiah*.

5. Many copyists were Greeks, without any knowledge of Hebrew; and nothing would be more likely than that they should change the Hebrew form of the proper name before us into the form which to them would be more intelligible.

6. Josephus began to decline the name in his writings,—κέδρων,—ος,—ω,—ον, etc.,—and so laid a foundation for the change in question. But,

7. The LXX. always give it as an indeclinable proper name, e. g.: *Ac. τὸν χ. κέδρων* (2 Sam. xv., 23; 2 Chron. xxix., 16; xxx., 14; 2 Kgs. xxiii., 6); *Dat. τῷ χ. κέδρων* (2 Kgs. xxiii., 6); *Gen. Pl. ἐν τῷ χ. τῶν κέδρων* (2 Sam. xv., 23; 1 Kgs. xv., 13). If this had been *κεδρώνων*, it would have favored the rendering of the New Revision; but as it is, it is only the same indeclinable proper name unchanged.

It may be asked, Why put it in the plural, as well as Genitive? The answer is much more likely to be, because the Heb. כִּדְרוֹן is never used in the singular. And so the Hebrew writer would naturally use *τῶν* in the Greek to express what we in English express by the singular, *muddy* or *turbid water*. This at least is much more probable than *cedar trees*, which, both in Hebrew and Aramean, are called *Arz* or *Erez*, Heb. אֵרֶז, Syriac or Aramean ܐܪܝܝܐ (*Arzo*).

NOTES FOR BEGINNERS.

BY WILLIAM R. HARPER.

In General.—It is the purpose of the writer to furnish under this head in successive numbers of *HEBRAICA*, some material which, it is hoped, may prove to be interesting and profitable to that, large class of the journal's constituency, those who are *beginners*. The word *beginner* is not, however, in this connection taken in its literal sense. While some of the suggestions made, and some of the hints offered may be of value only to those who are actual beginners, the material, in general, will be intended for those who have made at least some progress in the language. The "Notes" will be varied in their character, and designed to stimulate study in lines which perhaps the student, if left to himself, might overlook.

Origin of Various Vowel-sounds.—In the study of Hebrew the greatest difficulty experienced is the mastery of the principles which regulate the use of the various vowel-points. The question which one must ask and answer, several times perhaps in the case of every word, is this: How does there come to be here a Š'wâ, or a short vowel, or a long vowel? And in this question there are implied many subordinate questions. E. g., if it is a Š'wâ, it must be known (1) whether it is silent or vocal; (2) if vocal, from what earlier full vowel-sound it is derived; and (3) why it was changed from this original sound to a Š'wâ. If the vowel under consideration is *long*, the questions are: (1) What kind of a syllable is this? (2) Is the vowel tone-long or naturally long? (3) If naturally long, has it arisen from contraction, or in compensation, or because it is characteristic of a nominal form? (4) From what original sound or sounds has it come?

These questions can *always* be answered; and the man who has studied his Hebrew grammar through without learning the principles which furnish the answers, has studied it in vain. It is to be remembered, that a knowledge of the Massoretic system of vowel-points lies at the basis of all truly accurate and scientific knowledge of Hebrew. With this once mastered, the remaining work is comparatively easy.

Relative Occurrence of Vowel-sounds.—It may be of interest to know the relative frequency of occurrence of half-, short and long vowels in Hebrew. There is given below a table from which a reasonably accurate idea may be gained. The first four chapters of Genesis have been taken as a basis for calculation. This table shows that the average word has 2.76 vowel-sounds; that of a hundred vowel-sounds nearly sixteen are half-vowels, twenty-nine are short

vowels, fifty-five are long vowels. The long vowels are nearly twice as numerous as the short vowels, and three and a half times as numerous as the half-vowels. In this calculation no account has been taken of Păthăḥ-furtive, and no distinction made between simple (vocal) and compound Š'wâ.

	Verses.	Words.	Vowel-sounds.	Half-vowels.	Short vowels.	Long vowels.
Chapter I.	31	363	1042	173	316	553
Chapter II.	25	283	769	124	217	428
Chapter III.	24	298	821	117	225	479
Chapter IV.	26	290	784	121	240	423
Total		1234	3416	535	998	1883

The Nominative Absolute.—A construction not sufficiently emphasized in most grammars, and one worthy of careful study is that of the *Nominative Absolute*.¹ Consider the subject in the following way: (1) Note the use of הָאֶרֶץ in Gen. xxviii., 13, and find a similar construction in Gen. xxvi., 15; Deut. ii., 23; xiv., 27; Josh. ix., 12. (2) Note the use of שָׁכַם in Gen. xxxiv., 8 and find a similar construction in Deut. xxxii., 4; xxxiii., 17; 1 Sam. iii., 11. (3) Note the use of הָאִישׁ מִיכָה in Judg. xvii., 5 and find a similar construction in Lev. vii., 7, 33; Job xxii., 8. (4) Note the use of אֲנִי in Gen. xvii., 4 and find a similar construction in Gen. xxiv., 27; xlii., 11; Deut. xviii., 14.

Now study the phrases יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים *Jehovah, HE (is) the God*; הָדָם הוּא הַנֶּפֶשׁ *the blood, THAT is the life*. What is called the copula in these phrases, viz., הוּא, is really the subject of which הָאֱלֹהִים in one case and הַנֶּפֶשׁ in the other is the predicate; while the first word in each phrase is strictly speaking a nominative absolute, although logically the subject of the sentence. Compare with this similar cases in Gen. ii., 14, 19; ix., 18; xv., 2; Isa. ix., 14; xxxiii., 6.

The following statement will serve now as a summing up of the matter: For the sake of emphasis and for the avoidance of unwieldy sentences a noun or pronoun is frequently placed at the beginning of the sentence with, strictly speaking, no grammatical relation to the other words of the sentence, but represented in the body of the sentence by a pronominal suffix. This noun or pronoun may be *logically* the object of the sentence, or its subject, or the object of a preposition; or standing as the logical subject, it may be resumed by the pronoun הוּא which then, though really the grammatical subject of the following predicate, is equivalent, or nearly so, to a copula.

Other particulars might be noted, but for the first study, this is sufficient.

The Word לֵב or לֶבֶב.—Many students never take up their dictionary except to examine it with reference to something which has come up at the very

¹ See, however, Appendix V. 1, *The Casus Pendens* in Driver's *Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, upon which this is based.

moment of examination. To read a dictionary, to study a word in all its various usages, without having at the time any particular purpose in view, is, in the opinion of this class, a sheer waste of time. But the fact is, these men make a great mistake. He who would know a language, must study its words one by one, and exhaustively. As an exercise of this kind let us take the Hebrew word for "heart" **לֵב** or **לִבָּב**. Take it up as follows :

(1) Ascertain from the lexicon the various forms of the word which it assumes in inflection.

(2) By means of a concordance, study up the occurrence of the word. How often does **לֵב** occur? How often **לִבָּב**? In what books is either form most common? Where is the phrase *my heart*, *his heart* found most often?

(3) Ascertain its fundamental meaning. Does the root from which it comes mean *to cover*, *to envelop*, or *to be fat*? Are there any roots of similar form and meaning?

(4) So far as you may be acquainted with the cognate languages, search out the words which correspond etymologically to that which is under consideration.

(5) Ascertain also, if you are able, the words generally used to translate the word **לֵב** (and **לִבָּב**) in the Septuagint, the Targums, the Peshitto, and the Vulgate.

(6) Look up any synonyms of this word which occur, noting particularly, by means of a concordance, any other words or expressions for which the translation "heart" is given in the English Bible.

(7) Now study the *usage* of the word, noting (a) its use in a physiological sense; (b) its use in the sense of *self*; (c) with the signification *midst*; (d) its use in the sense of *life*; (e) as the seat of the *affections* and *emotions*, and so of love, sorrow, confidence, contempt, despair, bitterness, etc.; (f) as referring to *disposition*, *character*, and so described as high, great, double, crafty, froward, contumacious, sincere, upright, faithful, clean, perverse, etc., etc; (g) as referring to *will*, *purpose*, and so in the sense of *desire*, *determination*, *pleasure*; (h) as referring to *intelligence*, *wisdom*, *understanding*.

(8) Collect any idioms containing the word, which are worthy of special note; e. g., *speak upon the heart*, *place upon the heart*, *pour out the heart*, *a heart and a heart*, *a fat heart*, *the heart knoweth*, *steal the heart*.

In this work observe two general rules, viz. : (a) study closely and classify the largest possible number of texts; (b) constantly compare with the usage of **לֵב** in Hebrew the corresponding usage of "heart" in English.

Circumstantial Clauses.—It often takes the beginner a long time to appreciate what grammarians call the circumstantial clause or sentence. This kind of

sentence is, however, very common, and also idiomatic. An understanding of it will do away with the difficulty which in many cases attends the use of the conjunction ׀.

1) Note the following examples of this sentence :

Gen. XVIII., 12, וְאֶרְנִי זָקֵן *And my lord is old = seeing that my lord is old.*

Deut. XXXII., 31, וְאֵיבֵינוּ שֹׁפְטִים *And our enemies are judges = our own enemies admitting it.*

Ruth I., 21, וַיְהוֹה עִנָּה בִּי *When Jehovah hath testified against me.*

Gen. XI., 4, וּרְאִשׁוֹ בַשָּׁמַיִם *With its top in the heavens.*

Ps. XXVIII., 3, וּרְעָה בְּלִבָּם *Though evil is in their hearts.*

Gen. XVIII., 1, וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו "וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב פֶּתַח הָאֵהֶל" *and Jehovah appeared unto him while he sat at the door of the tent.*

Ps. VII., 3, וְאֵין מְצִיל *Without any one to deliver.*

1 Sam. IV., 18, וַיָּמָת...וְהוּא שֹׁפֵט אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבַּעִים שָׁנָה *And he died after having judged Israel forty years.*

Gen. XXXVII., 2, וַיִּהְיֶה רֹעֶה...וְהוּא נֶעֶר *He was tending the sheep, being a boy.*

2) Note also the following examples which have no conjunction ׀:

Gen. XII., 8, בֵּית-אֵל מִיַּם וְהָעִי מִקִּים *Bethel (being) on the west and Ai on the east.*

Ps. XXXII., 8, אֶעֱצֶה עֲלֶיךָ עֵינִי *I will give counsel with my eye upon thee.*

Num. XVI., 27, יָצְאוּ נֹצְבִים *They came forth stationed.*

Ps. VII., 3, פָּרַק וְאֵין מְצִיל *Rendering with no one to deliver.*

3) Note the following negative clauses :

Lev. I., 17, וְשָׁמַע אֹתוֹ...לֹא יִכְרֹל *And he shall cleave it...without dividing.*

Isa. XLVII., 11, וְהָבֹא עֲלֶיךָ...שָׂאָה לֹא תִדְרֵי *And destruction shall come upon thee...without thy knowing it.*

Gen. XLIV., 4, הֵם יָצְאוּ אֶת-הָעִיר לֹא הִרְחִיקוּ *They went out of the city without having gone far.*

4) Note the following cases in which the circumstantial clause precedes the principal clause : □

Gen. XLII., 35,...וַיֵּהִי הֵם מְרִיקִים שְׂקֵיהֶם וְהִנֵּה *And it came to pass, as they were emptying their sacks, that behold, etc.*

Gen. XV., 17,...וַיֵּהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה *And it came to pass, the sun having gone down, that, etc.*

5) Now sum up the case in the form of a few general statements :

a. The circumstantial clause generally follows the principal clause, and is joined to it by a conjunction ; yet cases are quite numerous in which the conjunction is omitted, and other cases occur in which the circumstantial clause precedes.

b. In the circumstantial clause the subject, either a noun or pronoun (though sometimes the latter is implied in the verb) stands first, because there is always

a contrast between this subject and the subject of the principal clause, or between this predicate and the predicate of the principal clause referring to the same subject.

c. The verbal form employed is chosen with reference to the kind of action described.

d. The circumstantial clause "describes the *condition* or *circumstances* in which the person or thing denoted by the noun or pronoun was at the time of the principal action."

e. In the translation of these clauses, it is impossible to be literal; conjunctions, determined by the context, are to be employed, such as, *while*, *as*, *though*, *seeing that*, etc.

UNIVERSITY NOTES FROM ABROAD.

BY IRA M. PRICE, M. A.,

Leipzig, Germany.

The opportunities of study afforded the Semitic and Old Testament Professors of America by the long summer vacation, are every year coming more into prominence. Many will perhaps during the coming summer spend several months on the continent of Europe, getting acquainted with the men and work in their particular lines. Germany will be, undoubtedly, the point visited by some. As it is not always an easy matter for all to learn where they could best occupy their time, I give in outline here the Semitic and Old Testament lectures to be delivered in the German Universities during the summer Semester, beginning about May 1st, and closing August 15th.

BERLIN: *Dillmann*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Smaller Exilic Portions of Isaiah. *Strack*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Psalms, 3) Proverbs xx.-xxiv. *Kleinert*, Ecclesiastes.——*Schrader*, 1) Assyrian, selected inscriptions, 2) Ethiopic. *Sachau*, 1) Syriac, selected writers, 2) Modern Hebrew Grammar, 3) Arabic Syntax according to Mufaṣṣal. *Dieterici*, 1) Quran and Arabic Syntax, 2) Treatise "über die Anfänge," 3) Thier und Mensch. *Barth*, 1) Arabic Syntax and Quran according to Beidhâwi, 2) Dillmann's Ethiopic Chrestomathy, 3) Reading of Targum and related Aramaic Texts. *Jahn*, 1) Hamasa with Introduction in Arabic Poetic Literature, 2) Arabic exercises. *Erman*, 1) Egyptian Writing and Language, 2) Coptic Grammar.

BONN: *Kumphausen*, 1) Job, 2) Outline of History of Israel. *Budde*, 1) Genesis, 2) Hebrew Exercises. *Kaulen*, 1) Biblical Archæology, 2) Psalms. *Reusch*, Selected Portions of Prophetical Old Testament Books.——*Gildemeister*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Arabic Writers, 3) Zamakhshari's Mufaṣṣal. *Frym*, 1) Beladhori's History of Moslem Conquests, 2) Tabari's Annals.

ERLANGEN: *Köhler*, 1) Old Testament Theology, 2) Minor Prophets, 3) In Seminar, Old Testament Introduction. *Caspari*, Deuteronomy.——*Spiegel*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Syriac Grammar.

FREIBURG: *König*, 1) Biblical Hermeneutics in connection with History of Exegesis, 2) Minor Prophets.

GIESSEN: *Stade*, 1) Minor Prophets, 2) History of the Messianic Idea, 3) In Seminar, Exodus. *Schuerer*, History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ.

GRIEFSWALD: *Giesebrecht*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Introduction to Daniel, 3) In Seminar, Selected Portions of Historical Books. *Bredenkamp*, Messianic Prophecies. *Meinhold*, Genesis.——*Kessler*, 1) Hebrew for Beginners, 2) Elements of Syriac, with Rödiger's Chrestomathy, 3) Arabic Grammar, with special reference to Hebrew, 4) Ibn Hishâm's Life of Mohammed.

HALLE: *Riehm*, 1) Psalms, 2) Isaiah xl.-xlvi. *Schlottmann*, 1) Job, 2) History of Israel, 3) Geography of Palestine, 4) In Seminar, Semitic Epigraphs.——*Gosche*, Quran. *Thorbecke*, 1) Hebrew or Arabic Grammar, 2) Comparative Hebrew Grammar, 3) Arabic Grammar, 4) Hariri.

HEIDELBERG: *Merrx*, 1) Job, 2) Dogmatics of Post-exilic Jews to Time of Christ

- (II. Part of Biblical Theology). *Kneucker*, Historico-Critical Introduction into Canonical Books of Old Testament.—*Weil*, 1) Exercises in Reading Arabic MSS., 2) Gulistân. *Eisenlohr*, 1) Egyptian Texts, 2) Topographical Description of Egypt.
- JENA: *Siegfried*, 1) Biblical Theology of Old Testament, 2) Psalms, 3) Pirqe Aboth, *Schmiedel*, 1) Old Testament Exercises, 2) Elementary Hebrew Exercises.—*Stickel*, 1) Hebrew Exercises, 2) Arabic Grammar and Writers, 3) Chaldee, 4) Syriac.
- KIEL: *Klostermann*, Genesis. *Baethgen*, 1) Psalms, 2) Chaldee in Old Testament, 3) Hebrew Exercises.—*Hoffmann*, 1) Syriac, Arabic, or Modern Persian, 2) In Seminar, Songs of Solomon.
- LEIPZIG: *Delitzsch, Frz.*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Old Testament Heilsgeschichte, 3) In Predigers Gesellschaft, Selected Portions of Leviticus, 4) Anglo-American Exegetical Gesellschaft, Relation of Ezechiel to the Mosaic Law. *Hölemann*, Gen. I.-III. *Baur*, Psalms. *Guthe*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Job, 3) In Old Testament Gesellschaft, Giving of Laws of Deuteronomy. *Ryssel*, Genesis. *König*, 1) Hebrew Grammar, 2) Exegetical Gesellschaft.—*Krehl*, 1) Syriac Grammar and easier texts, 2) Arabic Chrestomathy of Arnold, 3) Mu'allakat of Tarofa. *Delitzsch, Frdr.*, 1) Assyrian, easier texts, 2) Quran, reading continued, 3) Gulistân, continued.
- MARBURG: *Graf von Baudissn*, 1) Isaiah, 2) "Opferdienstes" in Old Testament. *Cornill*, 1) Old Testament Introduction, 2) Old Testament Exegetical Exercises.—*Ley*, 1) Hebrew Grammar with Exercises, 2) Meter of Hebrew Poetry. *Wellhausen*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Elements of Syriac.
- MUNICH: *Schönfelder*, 1) Job, 2) Syriac, continued, 3) Exercises in Hebrew.—*Hommel*, 1) Mu'allakat, continued, 2) Persian Grammar, with Reading of easier passages, 3) Arabic Literature of first three hundred years after Mohammed's Flight, 4) Religion of the old Babylonian and Assyrian. *Lauth*, 1) Elements of Egyptian, 2) Coptic Reading, 3) Geographical Texts. *Bezold*, 1) Arabic, continued, 2) Syriac or Ethiopic, 3) Assyrian.
- STRASBURG: *Nowack*, 1) History of Israel, 2) Minor Prophets. *Reuss*, Job.—*Duemichen*, 1) Introduction into Hieroglyphic Writing with Exercises in Translating Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, 2) Selected Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts, 3) The Biblical Representations and the same as found in the Sepulchres of the Memphitic and Thebic Necropolis. *Noeldeke*, 1) Hariris Durra, 2) Arabic Geography, 3) Syriac, 4) Ethiopic. *Euting*, 1) Semitic Inscriptions, Second half.
- TUEBINGEN: *Kautsch*, 1) Isaiah, 2) Pirqe Aboth. *Kuebel*, Most important Messianic Prophecies of Old Testament. *Himpel*, 1) Isaiah XL.-LXVI., 2) Introduction into the Deutero-canonical Writings.—*Socin*, 1) Elements of Arabic, 2) Arabic Authors, 3) Oldest Hebrew and Phœnician Inscriptions.
- WUERZBURG: *Scholz*, 1) Minor Prophets, 2) Arabic Grammar, with Exercises in Translation, 3) Exegetical Exercises.

Prof. H. L. Fleischer, the Arabist, of University of Leipzig, has been freed from the responsibility of lecturing, on account of age.

Prof. Geo. Ebers, the Egyptologist, has not lectured during the last two Semesters, nor will he lecture during the next Semester, on account of sickness.

Dr. Wilhelm Lotz, author of "Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser I.," has been

made Prof. ordinary in the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna.

Several valuable books are appearing, in which all Semitic scholars have a peculiar interest. "Josephi Flavi, Opera. Edidit et apparatu critico instruxit Benedictus Niese. Vol. II.," has just appeared, and will be made welcome by all students of history. This is a *critical* edition of the Greek original based on the best manuscripts. Where the manuscripts differ, the variants are indicated at the bottom of the page. The parallel passages of the Bible are also indicated. The text is broken up into small paragraphs, numbered on the margin. Vol. I. will appear later, and contain the Prolegomena to the entire work.

Gesenius' "Hebräischen und Chaldäischen Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament" will appear in the *tenth edition* at Easter. It will be a thoroughly improved and enlarged edition, by the former editors, Professors Mühlau and Volck of the University of Dorpat.

"Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," is the new name for the journal hitherto called "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung." It is edited by *privatdocent* Carl Bezold in University of Munich, in connection with Professors Oppert in Paris, Sayce in Oxford, Schrader in Berlin, and others.

The second part of De Sarzec's "Decouvertes en Chaldée" is announced for May.

"Kurzgefasster Ueberblick über die Babylonisch-assyrische Literatur" is the title of a book in press, by Dr. Carl Bezold, of Munich. A few words will show how invaluable this work will be to all Semitic scholars. It will contain a complete list of *all* inscriptions hitherto published. The first part of the work will contain an account of the historical inscriptions in chronological order. The second part will contain an account of the non-historical inscriptions, such as poetry and science. The book will also contain an index to 1500 tablets of the British Museum, published or captioned, translated or quoted in modern papers; also two indices, one for *all* plates of inscriptions published, the other for cuneiform proper names. Finally, a full list of abbreviations, both for the inscriptions and for modern books.

Vol. II., second edition, of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," is announced for this month.

Probably the most epoch-making work of modern times in the matter of Old Testament Lexicography appears to-day. Its title is "Prolegomena zu einem neuen hebräischen u. aramäischen Wörterbuch Alten Testaments," by Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, University of Leipzig. It is the product of about two years' work; and deals with 500 Hebrew and Aramaic words and roots, each of which receive either an entirely new or partially new explanation. These explanations are among the "things new and old," which this indefatigable delver has brought to light from the mines of lexicography in the languages of Babylonia and Assyria.

Leipzig, March 6th, 1886.

➤EDITORIAL NOTES.◀

THE thanks of the managing editor are due many friends of HEBRAICA for the words of appreciation and encouragement which have been received. It must be confessed that the task of making a scientific journal which will at the same time sustain itself and be satisfactory to all its constituents is no easy one. Again the kind consideration of those interested in the success of the effort is requested. There is a good basis upon which to rest the opinion that, if the undertaking can but be carried through the present volume and the succeeding one, its establishment is certain. We ask, therefore, for your continued forbearance, and for your hearty co-operation, and we promise you a journal which will, in time, accomplish much in the interests of a true scientific Bible-study.

THE readers of HEBRAICA are aware of the Schools of Hebrew to be conducted during the coming summer under the auspices of the Institute of Hebrew. Special attention is invited to the opportunities offered for becoming acquainted with the cognate languages. At *Philadelphia* those who desire to undertake or continue the study of Arabic will have the privilege of enjoying the instruction of Dr. Lansing, of New Brunswick, whose new Arabic Manual is almost ready for distribution. Dr. Peters, of Philadelphia, offers both elementary and advanced instruction in Assyrian. Provision also has been made for classes in Syriac, under Prof. Lovejoy, of Philadelphia, and in Aramaic, under Mr. Gurney, of Morgan Park. At *Morgan Park*, Arabic and Syriac will be taught by Prof. Wilson, of Allegheny, and Aramaic by Dr. Terry, of Evanston. At *Newton Centre*, Dr. Lyon, of Harvard, will have both elementary and advanced classes in Assyrian; Dr. Burnham, of Hamilton, will teach Syriac, and Prof. Brown, of Newton Centre, Aramaic. At *Chautauqua*, instruction in Arabic, Syriac and Aramaic will be given by Dr. Schodde, of Columbus, O. At the *University of Virginia*, Assyrian will be taught by Mr. James A. Craig, a graduate of McGill University and of Yale Divinity School, who is just finishing his doctorate course at Leipzig; Arabic and Syriac, by Mr. Robert F. Harper, who for two years has been studying at Berlin and Leipzig; and Aramaic by Dr. Foster, of Lebanon, Tenn.

Surely no better opportunities have in this country ever offered themselves in the line of Semitic study. Shall there not be many to avail themselves of this instruction?

NO PORTION of the Old Testament has been more sadly neglected than the "Minor Prophets." Yet no portion deserves greater attention. In the Schools to be held this summer these books are to receive special study. Under Dr. J. P. Peters, at Philadelphia, Dr. W. G. Ballantine, at Morgan Park, Dr. Francis Brown, at Newton Centre, Dr. W. J. Beecher, at Chautauqua, and Dr. Foster, at the University of Virginia, there will be done a work in this field, from which those who participate in it will derive a benefit that can scarcely be estimated. This subject, and these instructors, offer students in Hebrew a rich treat.

THE HEBREW students of America have reason to congratulate themselves that our Associate-Editor, Dr. Haupt, has finally decided to remain in this country. It was feared, for a time, that a tempting offer from a German university would draw him back to his native land. He will, however, continue his work in the Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore. Among other things we have the privilege of announcing that Dr. Haupt will conduct a *Winter School* for the study, particularly, of Assyro-Babylonian and Sumero-Akkadian. This *Winter School* will be held in January next, and like our Summer Schools, will continue four weeks. During this time, Dr. Haupt's regular work in Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic will be discontinued, and he, assisted by the two fellows in Semitic languages, will give instruction in the branches above named. A full programme will be announced later. Those who desire to attend are advised by Dr. Haupt to prepare themselves, so far as possible, in the Summer Schools of Hebrew. A knowledge of Hebrew will be required of those who take part, and a preparatory study of Arabic and Syriac, even though slight, will be of great advantage. We trust that the time is coming when the opportunities for the study of the Semitic languages shall be as numerous and as valuable in America as in Germany.

WE GIVE below an extract from a letter to Prof. Isaac Hail, Ph. D., of New York, by the celebrated scholar and author Prof. Th. Nöldeke, of the University of Strassburg. It is self-explanatory. We trust that the desire to preserve the good reputation heretofore enjoyed by the publishing firm referred to, may lead them to reconsider their decision in this matter.

"I have had it in mind to write to you concerning a matter which is of a very disagreeable character. A Mr. McDonald, M. A., of Westminster, England, undertook to translate my Syriac Grammar into English. When asked with reference to the matter two years since, I replied that I would be entirely satisfied. He made an agreement with T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, and drew half of his pay in advance. He sent me a few samples of his work, and I at once became aware of the fact that he did not sufficiently understand either Syriac or German. I thoroughly corrected one printed sheet for him, but the task was too heavy a one. I wrote him that the matter could not thus go on. Whether he informed the publishers or not I do not know; but a letter written by them to Mr. McDonald shows them to be of such a character that I can have no further dealings with them. Since five years have passed since the publication of my book, my publisher cannot prevent the issue of this translation. T. & T. Clark, however, are determined to publish it in spite of my objections. In view of all this, I am taking steps to announce in England that the book, which would be a *monstrum*, is to be issued contrary to the wishes of myself and my publishers, and that the translation is of no value. Perhaps you will help me to announce the same thing in America. In the meantime, we must wait and see what Mr. McDonald and the Messrs. Clark will do."

AS WE go to press, a copy of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch's *Prolegomena** reaches us. An extended notice will be published in the July HEBRAICA. Two great works have been promised by Professor Delitzsch, a Hebrew lexicon which shall incorporate the latest results of Assyrian research, and an Assyrian lexicon. The first part of the latter is promised July 1st. Professor Delitzsch would

* PROLEGOMENA EINES NEUEN HEBRAEISCH-ARAMAEISCHEN WOERTERBUCHES ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Prof. Ord. Hon. fuer Assyriologie und Semitische Sprachen an der Universitaet Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1886. pp. 217.

change quite radically the arrangement of the Hebrew lexicon. He would, for example, place in separate lists the Aramaic words and proper names. He would arrange the words according to their roots and not alphabetically. These, in our estimation, would be decided improvements. The argument that for beginners the alphabetical arrangement is the better one has little to sustain it. We believe that the next decade is to witness a most remarkable advance in the methods employed and in the helps furnished in the department of Semitic languages.

IN A recent number of *HEBRAICA* a notice was published of an unpainted text of Genesis. Many inquiries were received as to the possibility of obtaining an unpainted edition of the entire Pentateuch. After some investigation, several editions have been found. Of these, one particularly pleases us. We give its full title-page:

תקון הסופר והקורא
כולל
חמשה חומשי תורה
גם
מגלת אסתר
בלי נקודות ובלי טעמים,
עם תוספות דינים ושאר ענינים
שהם
לעזרת הסופרים כותבי התורה
ולתועלת הקוראים בה בקהל.
הכל ערוך ומתוכן ומונה בעיון היטב
על ידי
יצחק בן אריה יוסף רוב
S. Baer.
רעדעל היים
צווישע גענוי רעפֿידירטע איינזאנע.

RÖDELHEIM,
Druck u. Verlag von J. Lehrberger & Comp.
1875.

The paper is good, the type plain, the impression clear, and the book, taken as a whole, every thing to be desired. This statement is made for the benefit of those who desire such an edition, but have not known where to procure it.*

THE October *HEBRAICA* contained a complete list of the Old Testament and Semitic Professors in the United States and Canada. A similar list of English Professors was promised for the January number. It was not possible, however, to get the required material into proper shape at the date of issue of the January number. This list will be found in the present number. We shall give in the July number a similar list of Continental Professors, for which the material is already in hand. It will not be amiss for the world to know how many and who are engaged in this special work, and for them to know each other.

* Price, 75 cents; it may be ordered through the American Publication Society of Hebrew, Morgan Park, Ill.

➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

SOME NEWLY-DISCOVERED TEMANITE AND NABATEAN INSCRIPTIONS.

In a very excellent work "Studia Biblica, Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism and Kindred Subjects, by Members of the University of Oxford," recently published by the Clarendon Press, Dr. Ad. Neubauer publishes an interesting article under the above heading. The inscriptions are a very valuable lot, some of them having been translated by Nöldeke, Halevy, D. H. Müller and Clermont-Ganneau. To translate and comment upon such inscriptions requires a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of Semitic languages, ancient history and geography, and although the paper is extremely able, Dr. Neubauer is not equally strong in all the allied fields. The Assyriologist will observe not a few errors, the most glaring of these occurring in an attempted etymology of the name of a Temanite god—Sangala. We are treated to the statement that the name of the Babylonian god Nergal occurs in the form Sergal, and this is declared identical with Songala. Then in a note the conjecture is hazarded that *ner* in Nergal may be connected with *ner* in Abner and Neriah, while *gal* may be contained in the names Goliath and Abigail!

As a matter of fact the name of the god Nergal does not occur in the form Sergal. Nergal is Akkadian *ne-uru-gal* "lord of the great city," i. e., Hades. Another Akkadian word *negal* which means "ruler" and is connected with an Akkadian stem *ner* "to rule" occurs in Sumerian—the sister dialect—in the form *shermal*, and a half-knowledge of this fact is what led Dr. Neubauer to his absurd etymology.

Of a piece with the same is the explanation of the name Bildad "which cannot be any thing else but a compound of Bel and Dad." Proper names composed of the names of two divinities are extremely rare and scholars have some time since pointed out that the Benhadad of the Book of Kings the Bir-dada mentioned in the annals of Sardanapalus and Bil-dad the Shuhite in Job are variant forms of the same name and mean "son of Dadda," the Syrian god of the atmosphere.

CYRUS ADLER,
Johns Hopkins University.

BROWN'S ARAMAIC METHOD.*

The first part of this excellent Manual, embracing text, notes and vocabulary, appeared a little less than two years ago, and was favorably noticed in the October number of *HEBRAICA* for 1884. The second part now before us supplies the leading facts of the grammar of the Aramaic language, and occupies a supple-

* AN ARAMAIC METHOD. A Class-Book for the study of the Elements of Aramaic, from Bible and Targums. By Charles Rufus Brown. Part II. Elements of Grammar. Chicago: American Publication Society of Hebrew. Morgan Park. 1886. 96 pp. 12mo.

mentary and complementary position to the first. While it may offer little or nothing that is, strictly speaking, *novum*, it certainly treats the subject matter *nove*, i. e., in the field of Aramaic grammar. Its method is the inductive. From the selections given in the first part, and from other portions of the Targums where these selections did not suffice, the facts to be taken into consideration and of special importance to the student coming from Hebrew to the Aramaic are mentioned, and from these facts the underlying principles are drawn. Professor Brown has thus transferred to the Aramaic the method so successfully applied by Professor Harper to the Hebrew. In fact our author presupposes the grammar of Professor Harper in the hands of his pupils, and never repeats what may be found there. In the application of this method we think that Professor Brown has been very successful, and the result of his labors is quite a *multum in parvo*. It is only occasionally, as, e. g., in II. and VI., that the references of the grammatical statements to the examples placed above are not so clear as they might be, and here and at one or two other places that the grammar is not as transparent as it ought to be. In general, it might have been well to have increased the number of examples under many of the heads, and then by very direct and exact references of letters and figures between the examples and the principles adduced to have made perfectly clear to the beginner what the import and purpose of each example was. This would not have increased the bulk of the book, for the Paradigms could have been omitted, as they are already found in Part I., and the purpose of their repetition here is not quite clear. But taken as a whole, the Method is a manual of exceptional merit, and richly deserves the recognition and success the first part has secured and the second undoubtedly will secure. It is just the kind of a book we need for our seminaries, our summer-schools and for private study. The road from the Hebrew into the dialects naturally leads by the way of Biblical and Targumic Aramaic, and Professor Brown is entitled to the gratitude of teachers and pupils for having smoothed this way to a marked degree.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE,
Capital University, Columbus, O.

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➤ HEBRAICA. ✧

VOL. II.

JULY, 1886.

No. 4.

NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HEBREW TENSES.

BY WILLIAM HENRY BENNETT.

Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, England.

The work upon which these notes are based originated in a sense of dissatisfaction with the treatment of the subject in some of the best known elementary grammars, e. g., Davidson's Grammar¹ and Müller's Syntax. One would have been quite prepared to have found the treatment of so difficult a subject incomplete in parts and [to have found points left uncertain. But statements as to the tenses have an air of completeness and symmetry and certainty which raises high expectations, and it seemed to me that these expectations were not realized and that the enquiring student does not derive from such works so much help towards comprehension as he might expect. I found also that these impressions were shared by others.

Probably the form in which ideas about Hebrew tenses first shape themselves in the student's brain is that, where possible, a Perfect is translated as a past tense and an Imperfect as a future, and that, if such translations are impossible, considerable latitude is allowed in translation and the best must be made of the verb in the interests of the sense. It is felt, however, that this theory of the tenses can be only temporary and the student turns to statements of the syntax of the verb in the hope of attaining a better and more permanent theory.

He finds a statement of this syntax which might be briefly represented by the following complete and symmetrical table:

Perfect = Imperfect with Waw Cons. Imperfect = Perfect with Waw Cons.

<i>Past</i>	I did	I was doing
	I have done	I used to do
	I had done	
<i>Present</i>	I do	I do
<i>Future</i>	I shall have done	I shall do

¹ This statement must not be understood as implying any want of appreciation of Davidson's Grammar as a whole. But having as a teacher some little experience of its use as a text-book, I have become more and more convinced that it must be the author's intention that it should be explained, supplemented or qualified by oral teaching; so that probably many of the criticisms in these notes would be obviated when the book is used by Prof. Davidson himself.

There is an air of mathematical accuracy about a statement of this kind. It suggests that, given your tense, the statement of the syntax thereof is a kind of function of the tense which can be obtained by a known process of expansion. Perhaps, however, an air of mathematical accuracy is a little suspicious in syntax. The student wishes to understand the principles that determine the occurrence and distribution of the several tenses, and to know why in any given case a particular Hebrew Imperfect is to be translated by one rather than another of its possible English equivalents. He feels that his first impression from the syntax is that there is still left a free choice without any special preference for past or future, or possibly any special attention to the sense. If his faith in the possibility of Hebrew syntax is not destroyed he is apt to feel dissatisfied with the present method of its exposition. These statements of syntax suggest a neat key of convenient size which can be inserted in a lock and turns right round in the lock, but unfortunately does not turn the lock.

It may, of course, be suggested that these impressions are due to the elementary state of the student's knowledge, but as elementary works are presumably written for elementary students, they ought to add to his comprehension of the subject even when his knowledge is in an elementary stage.

Moreover, it is still the case that the old theory of the tenses is maintained and taught, and that there are students whose first introduction to the subject has been through such teaching. These students, when told that their original teaching is not orthodox, would gladly find in the hand-books of the new school some statement of the difference between the two theories and especially of the practical result of the change of the theory on interpretation and translation. This statement seems as a rule not to be forthcoming. It stands to reason that a total change of theory is likely to affect translation, and if left without exact information the convert from the old theory to the new is apt to imagine almost all translation affected. If his reading is confined to historical portions and he finds that the translations suggested by his old theory still very largely hold good, he may become a little sceptical as to the importance of holding a correct theory. If the students of an ancient system of astronomy had been in the habit of calculating the date of eclipses under their ancient theory, conversion to the Copernican system might seem to them to involve the discarding of these dates; and if without previous explanation they were allowed to discover that after all the eclipses occurred on the dates calculated on the old theory, their views as to the relative merits of the two systems might again become unsettled.

There are other points, too, on which the student might reasonably look for clear statement, even if it were only of the fact that grammarians (if such be the case) have not yet completely mastered the subject. It is obvious at a very elementary stage that the conditions and methods of use of the tenses in poetical sections are very different from those in narrative sections; but beyond fragmen-

tary notices in the symmetrical expansion already referred to there is no plain statement of the main differences of poetic and prosaic style.

Again, we learn our Hebrew too much at second hand through German and, naturally, translations of a German syntax. Grammars that reproduce the phrases of Ewald are apt to forget to connect the usage of the Hebrew tenses with those of the English tenses.

As the standard text-books are supposed to state the current views clearly and concisely for the benefit of the student, it seemed that the next step might be to attempt to apply the results as given in these books to the reading of some considerable portions of the Old Testament, rather than to seek the further and more detailed exposition of them in larger grammars.

I was specially interested in trying to observe the amount of practical change involved in the substitution of the ideas of Perfect and Imperfect for those of Past and Future; it seemed simpler to begin with narrative portions of the Old Testament, and the Pentateuch together with Joshua seemed to present a fairly convenient whole.

Accordingly I read these books specially attending to the use of the Perfect and Imperfect tenses, and noting each occurrence of these tenses in a table of twelve columns arranged thus :

Perfect

1. Cases where the Hebrew Perfect may be translated as a Past Tense without any difficulty as regards context.
2. Cases where such a translation is difficult.
3. Cases where such a translation seems rendered impossible by the context.

Imperfect with Waw Cons.

4. } As in case of Perfect, substituting "Imperfect with Waw Cons." for
5. } "Perfect."
6. }

Imperfect.

7. Cases where the Hebrew Imperfect may be translated by an English Future, Present, or Subjunctive, or by *may*, *can*, etc.
8. Cases where the Imperfect has a frequentative sense.
9. Cases where it seems necessary to translate the Imperfect by the English Past Imperfect or other past tense.

Perfect with Waw Cons.

10. } As in case of Imperfect, substituting "Perfect with Waw Cons." for
11. } "Imperfect"
12. }

It will be seen that the second and third columns under each tense will contain the cases which seem specially to strain the "Past and Future" theory and which seem to be more manageable under the "Perfect and Imperfect" theory.

They may be stated as those in which on the one hand a Perfect or Imperfect with Waw Cons. has to be translated as a Future, and on the other an Imperfect or Perfect with Waw Cons. as a Past. The use of either tense as present, and the Subjunctive, Potential Imperative and Optative uses of the Imperfect seem to give no special difficulty under either theory.

Before giving the results of this work, it may be as well to point out that it is not intended to imply that the results are due to careful and thorough consideration of difficult cases; these are simply noted as difficult. Moreover, many cases are put in the first column under each tense, which might possibly be assigned to the second. In this arrangement I have been guided by the possibilities of translation into English Past and Futures or allied tenses, and I have also followed recognized translations. However, something more will be said on this point below.¹

The results were as follows :

<i>Perfect</i>	1	2	3
	2827	5	1
<i>Imperfect with Waw Cons.</i>	4	5	6
	4829	2	—
<i>Imperfect</i>	7	8	9
	4116	51	33
<i>Perfect with Waw Cons.</i>	10	11	12
	2584	46	22

Neglecting for the present the extremely small number of instances in 2, 3, 5 and 6, we see that we may state the following approximate rules :

1. That the Perfect, or Imperfect with Waw Cons., may be translated as the English Perfect or Pluperfect.

2. That the Imperfect, or Perfect with Waw Cons., is only rarely used of the past.

3. That the Imperfect, or Perfect with Waw Cons., occurs very occasionally in a frequentative sense of past time.

It may also be noticed that 1, 4, 7, 10 contain the cases where translation is not affected by change of theory; and that the matter affording the chief ground for debate and some of the data for argument are comprised in the other columns; and that the debatable matter is extremely small in proportion.

It will be seen from the table and rule 1, that the cases where the Perfect,

¹ It will be obvious that to be perfectly sure that no errors from inadvertence have crept in would require much time, more time than I have had at my disposal. But this is perhaps less important than it would be in some other cases, as the proportion between the numbers in columns 1, 4, 7, 10 and those in the other columns is too great to be affected by mere inadvertencies.

etc., are used for prophetic perfect, strong affirmation, and where in English we use a present which implies a perfect, are included by a certain elasticity of interpretation in rule 1. The defence of this position is reserved for a section on the use of the English tenses as illustrating that of the Hebrew tenses.

If the cases mentioned in the last paragraph were separated from those in which the Perfect and the Imperfect with Waw Cons. are used as simple past tenses, it would be found that the former are few in comparison with the latter and that for the great bulk of occurrences of these forms the following rules might be laid down:

1. That in narrative the Perfect is used as the ordinary narrative tense when the verb is not immediately preceded by a Waw, i. e.,

a. In *Oratio Recta*.

b. In dependent, interrogative and negative sentences.

c. In cases where some emphatic word (or words) is placed before the verb.

It is, of course, to be understood that "narrative tense" is confined here to past tense used in narrative.

2. That in narrative the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is used as the ordinary narrative tense in independent sentences except in interrogative and negative sentences and where other words are placed before the verb for the sake of emphasis.

One or two limitations of the latter rule will be noticed further on. It is only attempted here to give such rough statements of usage of the tenses as might fairly be submitted to students with the caution that they might have to be somewhat modified.

The uses of the Imperfect and its allied Perfect with Waw do not readily lend themselves to wide and simple generalizations.

It now remains to notice briefly the cases not included in our rules, namely, those in 2, 3, 5, 6, 9 and 12.

2, 3. Gen. XVIII, 12 **הִי־תָהֱלִי עִרְנָה**. Both AV. and RV. translate as future, which is doubtless the most idiomatic English equivalent of the Hebrew; but might not the literal meaning of the root and force of the tense be fairly represented by "Has pleasure come to me?"

Gen. XL., 14 **כִּי אִם יִכְרַתֶּנִּי**. Driver, p. 169 n., and Ewald as quoted by him, both treat this case as exceptional and reject the translation as imperative given by AV. and RV.

Exod. IX., 15 **כִּי עָתָה שְׁלַחְתִּי**. The RV. changes the future of the AV. into a past conditional, which removes all difficulty as to use of tense and context.

Exod. XXI., 37 **וְיָשַׁבְּ אוֹ נִשְׁבָּה אוֹ מָכַרוּ**, XXII., 9 **וְיָשַׁבְּ אוֹ נִשְׁבָּה אוֹ מָכַר**, XXII., 13 **וְיָשַׁבְּ אוֹ מָכַר**. It might indeed be possible to translate the Perfects without Waw strictly, e. g., "and shall slay it or have sold it," but such a trans-

lation seems very awkward. Might not, however, the **ינ** connect the latter verb with the former so closely as to bring the latter so to speak under the vinculum of the Waw?

5. These two cases are Imperfects with Waw, co-ordinate with the Perfect in Exod. ix., 15, already referred to, and may be similarly explained.

Thus the only case that presents any serious difficulty so far is that in Gen. xl., 14, and the amount of exception to the rule 1 on p. 196 is very slight indeed.

It will also be seen that of the cases included under 9 and 12 many might fairly be taken as frequentative.

9. In the first place, 24 out of the 33 occur in poetical sections, Exod. xv.; Deut. xxxii.; Exod. xxxiii., 8, 9. Two are frequentative, Exod. xxxvi., 29, Gen. vi., 4 (so Driver). One, Deut. xxxiii., 3, may without any great difficulty be taken as a future. There remain six cases which cannot be explained satisfactorily unless as referring to past time, and not frequentative; four of these, Gen. xxxvii., 7; Exod. viii., 20; Num. xxiii., 7; Deut. ii., 12, are taken by Driver as analogous to our Historical Present; and the other two, Gen. ii., 25 and xlviii., 10, are left as unsolved problems.

12. Of these 22, 12 might be taken as frequentative: Five, Gen. xxxi., 7; xxxvii., 3; Josh. vi., 8, 13; Exod. xxxvi., 29, are referred to by Driver as frequentative; five others, Exod. xxxvi., 30, 38; xxxviii., 28; xxxix., 3, are in a similar context to Exod. xxxvi., 29. The other two are Gen. xxi., 25; xlix., 23. One, Num. xxi., 15, might fairly be taken as a future;¹ one, Deut. xxxiii., 2, is in a poetical section. There remain *eight* which do not seem to yield to any satisfactory explanation, except as referring to past time and that not in a frequentative sense; one of these, Gen. xv., 6, Driver speaks of as an "isolated irregularity;" the others are, Gen. xxviii., 6;² xxxiv., 5; xxxviii., 5; xxxviii., 9 (two cases); Josh. ix., 12;¹ xxi., 4. One is naturally tempted to consider these as cases of the Perfect with weak Waw, and some of them are so taken by Driver. But perhaps it might be preferable to leave these eight cases all of them an "insoluble enigma," for the following reasons:

a. Because we have seen that similar cases occur in the Imperfect where we cannot resort to any change of force of the Waw.

b. Because these cases are so "exceedingly rare" in historical sections of the earlier books.

c. Because the change from the obsolete construction with Waw Cons. to the current construction with weak Waw was a species of error in the copying

¹ This list of eight would, according to Driver, have to be extended to fifteen. It is beyond the scope of these notes to enter minutely into individual cases; most of Driver's cases are included in those which seem to need translating by the Past Imperfect; and in the further analysis of this class I only attempt to show that in some cases there are plausible grounds for setting aside this seeming necessity. (Cf. Driver, p. 187).

² Cf. preceding foot-note and Driver, p. 189.

that scribes would be peculiarly liable to, and these cases may be cases of corrupt text.

Thus we see that out of nearly 7000 cases, rules 1-3 on p. 196 cover all but about 14. Hence we maintain that as far as the historical sections of the Hexateuch are concerned, it is misleading to co-ordinate the use of the Imperfect in the Past with its Present, Future and Subjunctive and kindred uses. Yet it is so co-ordinated in Davidson and Müller, and the student is left to gather from incidental remarks that even the frequentative use is comparatively rare and that in historical sections any other use of the Imperfect of past time is most exceptional. Surely, therefore, rule 2 on p. 196 would better help the student to a clear understanding of the usage; while the exceptional cases might be referred to or even enumerated in a note.

THE SEQUENCE OF THE TENSES.

The rules given on page 197 are not only empirical in form rather than scientific, but they omit and ignore the usual statement that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. depends on an initial Perfect. Now I do not in any way deny or even criticize the orthodox theory that the use of the Imperfect with Waw Cons. originated in such a construction, nor, of course, do I deny that a Perfect followed by Imperfects with Waw is a common construction. But I maintain that the usual statements on the subject are misleading, inaccurate and sometimes a trifle absurd. It would, of course, be utterly unreasonable to ascribe these characteristics to any want of knowledge or appreciation of the language on the part of the writers; it seems merely to be due to an enthusiasm of the scientific statement and elaboration of theory to which a clear statement of the actual usage of the tenses is altogether subordinated.

The following are some of the statements referred to:

1. Bickell's Outlines of Hebrew Grammar, § 152 Curtiss' translation: "If a narrative begins with the Perfect, it is continued in the apocopated form of the future with *va*."

This is the only reference in a very brief outline of syntax as to the use of the "future with *va*." Standing by itself it would certainly convey to the reader the idea that the "future with *va*" never occurred except under these conditions; or at any rate that this use of it was much more common than any other.

2. Davidson's Grammar, pp. 60, 61: "After a simple *perfect* events conceived as following upon this Perfect are expressed by the emphatic Vav joined with the *imperfect*."

This is given conspicuously in the largest type used in the book as "*the usage*;" at the bottom of the next page in a note dealing with two other points and printed in the smallest type used in the book, we read:

"The conversive tenses are properly used after simple tenses, but the usage has pervaded the language to such an extent that they may be employed when no

simple tense actually precedes; and in translating into Hebrew *and* with a verb may generally be expressed by the converse tense."

The impression obviously conveyed by words, position and type is that the construction spoken of as "*the usage*" is by far the most common, and that the construction which "*may be*" employed is infrequent, if not exceptional.

3. Müller's Syntax, Robertson's translation, pp. 13, 14: "The Imperfect with *ו* appears in its use as quite equivalent to the simple Perfect; and indeed even stands instead of it in all places where a discourse begun with the simple Perfect is carried on uninterruptedly in the context; it can, moreover, be used in continuation of other verbal forms instead of a simple Perfect wherever the latter would be admissible.

"Rem. *α*. As soon as a new order of thought begins, which is not to be taken as closely connected with what precedes, the Perfect is necessary."

This statement leaves us with more latitude; we should still suppose that the construction of Imperfect with Waw was usual and most frequent, but that it sometimes occurred after other verbal forms.

Later on this is modified in a guarded and limited fashion, but we are left to suppose that the use "with any word whatever" is entirely subordinate.

The lessons which the student would suppose intended to be taught by the above statements would be:

1. That the Imperfect with Waw is most commonly found after a simple Perfect; less frequently after other verbal forms and occasionally after "any word whatever."

[Müller indeed states that the latter construction or rather a large group of constructions of which this is one, is found "very often." But in a syntax "very often" at the head of a subordinate paragraph after the broad and general statement at the beginning of the quotation would only be understood to mean that the construction occurred often enough to be considered regular and not exceptional; apart from such a context we should use "occasionally" for what would here be understood by "very often."]

2. That the Perfect is commonly found as the first verb of a paragraph and that the Imperfect with Waw is never found.

While the mode in which the construction of the Perfect and of the Imperfect with Waw is stated in Bickell and Davidson would suggest some such conclusion, Müller's statement that at the beginning of a new order of thought not closely connected with what precedes a Perfect is *necessary*, almost shuts the student up to such a conclusion. In fact the tendency of the student, accustomed in other languages to a syntax that deals chiefly with sentences, is to apply these statements to sentences. He has visions of a series of Hebrew sentences, each beginning with a Perfect and containing one or more Imperfects with Waw Cons. Müller's

“Remark” may suggest to him that sentences are often closely connected with each other and do not always begin a new order of thought; but he probably supposes that a new order of thought may be understood to begin with a new paragraph, a new chapter, when chapters are at all reasonably divided. One might suppose, for instance, that a new order of thought began at Gen. xxxviii., 1, where the story of Tamar interrupts the history of Joseph.

These then are the ideas that the student would derive from such works on Hebrew syntax as to the distribution of the Perfect and Imperfect with Waw Cons., and their relation to one another. The impression given by the actual reading of the Hexateuch is entirely different. Instead of a series of sentences, each beginning with a Perfect, he finds that the main verbs of the independent sentences are almost always Imperfects with Waw Cons. and that the occurrence of a Perfect in such a capacity is rare, the Perfects are mostly found in dependent sentences and oratio recta.

These Perfects being rare, it follows that the construction Perfect followed by Imperfect with Waw Cons. is also comparatively rare. Taking a few chapters or sections in which Perfects and Imperfects with Waw Cons. occur pretty freely we get such results as the following:

Gen. v.—vi., 8 סֵפֶר הַיּוֹלָדֶת אָדָם. The construction occurs once, after the בָּרָא of verse 2, the main verbs are Imperfects with Waw Cons. for *thirty-eight* verses.

The הָיָה of vi., 4 is parenthetic and the וַיֵּרָא of verse 5 takes up the narrative from vi., 3.

Gen. x.—xi., 9. In verse 1, וַיּוֹלְדוּ following the bare names Shem, Ham and Japhet; then in verses 8 and 9 a series of three Perfects and then an Imperfect with Waw Cons. Though the section is rich in Perfects the construction in question is only found again in verses 11, 19 (though it seems strained to connect וַיְהִי with either of the two preceding Perfects, 29; xi., 1, whence the series of Waw Cons. continues for eight verses, the הָיָה in verse 3 is parenthetic.

Similarly in Exod. i. and ii., out of forty-seven verses this construction is found in *five* cases, i., 6, 7, 17; ii., 3, 19; in two of these, i., 17 and ii., 3, the use of the Imperfect is rendered impossible by the presence of לֵא and another, ii., 19, is in the oratio recta.

In Lev. ix., out of 24 verses this construction is found in verses 1, 11, 13, 21.

In Num. xvii., out of 28 verses this construction is found in verses 7, 12 and 23, in each case in a parenthesis, the main line of narrative consisting of a series of Imperfects with Waw Cons., and if we look for an initial Perfect, we have to go back to the preceding chapter.

Deut. xxxiv. Out of twelve verses the construction occurs *once* in verses 7, 8, and even there וַיִּבְכּוּ does not seem to connect with the previous Perfects.

Josh. ix. Out of twenty-seven verses the construction occurs in verses 3, 14, 18, 24, 27; in 18 the presence of the Perfect is due to the N^{c} , and in 14 and 27 the sequence seems doubtful.

It follows from examples like these that the cases in which the Imperfect with Waw Cons. occurs within reach, i. e., within two or three verbs of a simple Perfect, are rare. To use symbols, let P denote a simple Perfect, I an Imperfect with Waw Cons., then the combinations P+I, P+2I, P+3I, occur but rarely; when the Imperfects are traceable to any Perfect we find series of the type P+nI where n is large, and consequently the number of such series is in inverse ratio to the average value of n , and the number of series and number of Perfects occurring at the head of series are small. Hence in most instances the actual sequence in the case of Imperfects with Waw Cons. is that one such Imperfect follows another; by continuing the process you may ultimately get back without any serious break to an initial Perfect, or as we shall try to show, you may *not*.

The most crucial test of the actual dependence of Imperfects with Waw Cons. on preceding words will naturally be found by examining the beginning of paragraphs, and the same investigation deals with our second point as to the presence or absence of Perfects, and of Imperfects with Waw Cons. in such a position. If the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is always or most often in dependence on something else, and a series of such Imperfects must ultimately rest on a Perfect or its equivalent, then an Imperfect with Waw Cons. will never or only rarely be found at the beginning of a paragraph. As Müller says, it will only be found where a "discourse begun with the simple Perfect is carried on uninterruptedly in the context" and whenever "a new order of thought begins" the Perfect is necessary.

Unfortunately for the purpose of investigation, the process of division into suitable paragraphs is largely a subjective one. An author who has laid down the rule that whenever a new order of thought begins, the Perfect is necessary, will be apt to consider the presence of a Perfect a sufficient indication of a new order of thought. In criticizing such an author one is tempted to err in an opposite direction. However, to avoid this difficulty, I have followed almost exclusively certain recognized divisions, as follows:

1. The Hebrew divisions of the Pentateuch.
2. The chapters.
3. The books of the Bible (O. T.).
4. Kayser's Elohist sections of the Pentateuch.
5. The paragraphs of the Book of Joshua in the Revised Version.
1. The Hebrew divisions of the Pentateuch.

a. The larger divisions. Of these a large majority begin immediately with an Imperfect and Waw Cons. in all the five books except Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy two of these divisions begin thus, one begins similarly, namely, with a

Perfect and Waw Cons., one has a simple Perfect for its first verb and three others are irrelevant, since they contain exhortation and not narrative.

b. The smaller divisions. Here, too, there is a large majority of those beginning with an Imperfect and Waw Cons. over those in which such an Imperfect is introduced by a tense or phrase. Here also there is so little direct narrative in Deuteronomy that little evidence can be obtained thence.

2. The chapters. Here again, Deuteronomy being for the above reason excluded and Joshua being now included, the result is the same as in 1, only the preponderance of initial Imperfects with the Waw Cons. is greater.

3. The books of the Old Testament (historical, or beginning with a historical section).

Eleven, viz., Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, Jonah, Ruth, Esther and 2 Chron. begin with Imperfect and Waw Cons.

Six, viz., Genesis, Exodus, 1 Kings, Job, Daniel and Ezra have an initial Perfect.

Three, viz., Deuteronomy, Nehemiah and 1 Chronicles do not fall into either of the above classes.

The fact that some books now separated were originally combinations of others weakens but does not destroy the evidence given above.

4. Kayser's Elohist sections of the Pentateuch (as given in C. V. Rysell's *De Elohistæ Pentateuchi Sermones*).

I have used these, simply because it seems likely that where a writer selects passages of three or four or more verses and separates them from their context as belonging to a different author, he recognizes some break in the order of thought at the beginning and end, and such sections, as well as the sections left when these are taken away, are a kind of paragraph. In using these paragraphs we are following the independent judgment of a distinguished scholar.

Here again the sections beginning with Imperfects with Waw Cons. are in a great majority.

5. The paragraphs into which the Book of Job is divided in the RV.

The paragraphs in the Revised Version follow so closely the divisions of the Hebrew text that it did not seem worth while to investigate both sets for the same book. For the sake of variety, we have taken the paragraphs of the RV. in this one book with a very similar result to that obtained in all the other cases.

We may also notice that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is often found after speeches, sometimes long speeches in the oratio recta. Here surely we can scarcely say that the original discourse has proceeded uninterruptedly, or that there is no break in the order of thought. Striking instances of this are: after the last charge of Jacob, Gen. XLIX., 33; after the Song of Moses, Exod. xv., 20; after the last prophecy of Balaam, Num. xxiv, 25; after the Blessing of Moses, Deut. xxxiv., 1.

We may also notice the sections beginning with **אלה תולדות** or similar words. With the exception of those in Num. III., 1 seq., Ruth IV., 18 seq., these are all found in Genesis. The presence of these initial words renders it impossible to have an Imperfect with Waw Cons. at the head of the section. In seven cases we have following this heading or title a Perfect followed by Imperfect and Waw Cons. In another case (Gen. II., 4), we have two verses with no main verb expressed, then an Imperfect in a frequentative sense, and somewhat later an Imperfect with Waw Cons. In five other cases an Imperfect with Waw Cons. follows a clause or clauses in which no main verb is expressed, and in Ruth I., 18 seq., we have a series of Perfects extending over five verses. One would scarcely expect the order of thought to change so constantly in the course of a genealogy.

Thus the result of this investigation is that so far from the Imperfect with Waw Cons. never or rarely occurring at the beginning of a paragraph, this construction occurs at the beginning of paragraphs much oftener than the simple Perfect, and is perhaps the most common beginning.

On the strength of these facts we maintain that there is no sufficient evidence in these six books of any conscious dependence of Imperfect with Waw Cons. on Perfects, other than the dependence always suggested by a Waw. If the writer had felt that grammar demanded a Perfect or its equivalent before an Imperfect with Waw Cons.; this feeling must have had a perceptible influence on the way in which paragraphs begin.

If it is said that in all cases where the Imperfect with Waw Cons. begins a paragraph, the division is so slight as to allow the connection to be carried back over the division to a preceding Perfect, we reply that the division in thought is often as great as it can be in a connected historical work, and that the breaks after which the Perfect is used are no more marked than those after which we have the Imperfect with Waw Cons.

As to the division in thought, we have already pointed out that this Imperfect is found when the narrative style is resumed after a long speech in oratio recta, and again where the scene and subject of a narrative suddenly change, as when the history of Joseph is interrupted by the episode of Tamar.

Then as to the occurrence of the Perfect after slight breaks, let us take the six Toledoth sections which have an initial Perfect; five of these sections, Genesis V., 1 seq.; VI., 9 seq.; XI., 27 seq.; XXXVI., 1 seq.; XXXVII., 2 seq., follow closely some mention of the subject of the Toledoth; in the case of Gen. XXV., 19, the Toledoth of Isaac naturally follow those of Ishmael.

We may also notice that Perfects like Imperfects with Waw Cons. have a tendency to run in series; for instance while the Toledoth Adam, Gen. V., 1, consists of an unbroken series of such Imperfects, in the Toledoth of the sons of Noah the main line of the genealogy is kept up by a series of Perfects. Compare also the genealogy which concludes the Book of Ruth; also in Gen. XIV., 2-5 there

is a series of five Perfects, in Gen. XIX., 23, 24 we have a series of three Perfects, and so again in Gen XXVII, 37.

The Perfects at the beginning of these Toledoth sections perhaps follow as marked a break in the narrative as any Perfects; while those within these sections follow as slight a break as any; and the range between these two extremes is about the same as that between the most and least marked break which is followed by an Imperfect with Waw Cons.

We are now in a position to recur to the case of a long series of Imperfects with Waw Cons. with an initial Perfect. We stated as a deduction from the frequency of such series that the tense most often preceding an Imperfect with Waw Cons. was a similar tense. It would have been scarcely worth while to notice this for its own sake; it might seem too obvious, and yet many less obvious facts are stated in grammars; and the fact that an indefinitely long series of such Imperfects may depend upon a single Perfect is sufficiently novel and striking to be explicitly stated. The ordinary student has forgotten all about the initial Perfect by the time he has had six or seven Imperfects, and if these tenses really are dependent on the initial Perfect, it is well that the student should be reminded of the fact.

But if we decide that the initial Perfect is not to be credited with this long line of Imperfects, then the series is chiefly important as illustrating the principle that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. is the ordinary tense in simple narrative. It not only illustrates the principle, but furnishes new evidence to establish it. We have pointed out that the Perfect of Gen. v., 2 is followed by a series of sixty-five Imperfects with Waw, a series unbroken except by Perfects in dependent sentences and parentheses. According to the ordinary statement of current syntax these can only belong to a discourse uninterruptedly following an initial Perfect or its equivalent, expressed or understood, and here the Perfect is expressed. Apart from the presence in this series of what seems to be an important break at VI., 1, the mind recoils from the supposition that the writer deliberately attached sixty-five Imperfects to one Perfect with the consciousness that the presence of the Perfect at the beginning was a necessary condition to the expression of past time by an Imperfect with Waw thirty verses further on. If it be said that, having once fallen into Imperfects with Waw, the same tense was used till something happened to break the even flow of the narrative, and that the writer used each particular Imperfect with Waw because he knew that the tenses immediately preceding it were the same; then, surely, as a matter of syntax each later Imperfect with Waw is due to the preceding ones, and the fact of such a dependence should have been so stated. But the number of instances in which such Imperfect is found with no very close connection with any previous Perfect or similar Imperfect seems to render even this modified statement of the usual theory unnecessary.

On these grounds we maintain that the two rules given on p. 197 fairly de-

scribe and account for the facts of the language. They need some little explanation and may perhaps be put on a fairly scientific basis. Thus we may lay down the following premises:

1. The ordinary style of Hebrew narrative consists of a series of co-ordinate sentences connected by the conjunction Waw, as against the more complicated constructions and greater variety of conjunctions in other languages.

2. That the verb is usually put first.

3. That instead of using for narrative the ordinary Waw and the Perfect, the Waw pointed as the article is used with the Imperfect.

Thus the ordinary narrative tense will be this Imperfect with Waw. Doubtless the origin of the usage was that which modern theory suggests; but we maintain that the origin had been forgotten. It now remains to account for cases in which this ordinary tense gives place to the Perfect.

As the connection of the Waw and Imperfect is an essential part of the construction, and the Imperfect is not so used without Waw. It will follow:

1. That the substitution of any other conjunction or of a relative for Waw will render it necessary to use the Perfect, hence the Perfect will be found in dependent, relative, interrogative sentences.

It is, of course, to be understood that this need only apply to the first verb in such a sentence; a second verb may be connected with this by Waw, and then the Imperfect may follow as usual. As a matter of fact such sentences do not very often contain more than one verb, and when they do, there is some tendency to follow up one Perfect by another, e. g., Gen. VI., 1.

2. Anything which alters the position of the verb will separate it from the Waw and cause it to fall into the Perfect.

Thus *a*, as the negative **אֵין** always precedes the verb, the Perfect is found in negative sentences.

- b*. Wherever some other word than the verb is placed first for the sake of emphasis, the verb will fall into the Perfect.

3. The oratio recta in its statement, as to past time may use either a narrative or a rhetorical style. In using a narrative style nothing more is intended than to state the facts to the hearer; when the style becomes rhetorical there is a conscious intention that the statement of facts should move the feelings or the will of the hearer. In the former case the Imperfect with Waw is naturally used, in the latter case the statements are rendered more emphatic by the use of the Perfect. It is chiefly in long speeches that the oratio recta becomes narrative.

Moreover, the principles laid down fully account for the feeling that an Imperfect with Waw is connected with something preceding. Naturally the use of a form, the first member of which is a conjunction, will suggest a connection with something preceding. Again it is natural that a series of Imperfects with Waw should have an appearance of smoothness and regularity; any unbroken series of

tenses has some such appearance; and in this case the fact that any departure from the usual order of the words renders it impossible to use this Imperfect implies that the presence of this Imperfect indicates an absence of emphasis. Thus also the Hebrew language gains an added emphasis of form from the fact that an unusual order of words must also be accompanied by a less usual tense. But the question as to the use of Perfect or Imperfect with Waw is not one of sequence or connection, but of emphasis; the unbroken series of these Imperfects implies continuity of style rather than of thought. For, while a change of thought may be indicated by a change of style, yet the different parts of a train of thought may be as closely connected as possible, and still their mutual relation and relative importance may give rise to a variety of construction. One might perhaps illustrate the theory that an Imperfect with Waw Cons. implies an initial Perfect by comparing a series of Imperfects to a straight line and a Perfect to a point, then in the nature of things every such series must begin with a Perfect; and the continuity of a narrative will be that of a straight line when Imperfects are used and as broken as a row of isolated points when we have Perfects. According to the view we have tried to maintain, the series of Imperfects may be compared to a gently undulating curve, and the Perfect to a loop; or where a Perfect interrupts a series of Imperfects there would be a loop among the curves. The continuity is the same in each case; there is no necessary sequence, but the change from waw to loop would arrest and detain the attention.

It surely follows that the methods of stating the use of the Imperfect with Waw Cons. are misleading; those of Bickell and Davidson, as being the whole of their statements on this head, would never lead the student to suppose that the facts were as they have been stated above. As to Müller it may be fairer to give a synopsis of his statements on the subject. According to him the Imperfect with Waw Cons. may follow—

1. A Perfect.
2. Any other tense used where a Perfect would have been admissible.
3. Another expression in a present sense instead of a Perfect.
4. Any word whatever, *which it in a manner elucidates*.
5. It may serve as apodosis to a preceding noun placed absolutely.
6. A simple Imperfect under certain conditions.

If it were not that Müller's anxiety to establish a connection in each case leads him to impose limitations on the use under each head, we might say that his statements might gain in clearness and conciseness if they were summed up in a statement in Gesenius, that the Future with Waw Cons. stands only in connection with something preceding. Even then Gesenius' statement is for most cases a truism, since, as we have pointed out, a form introduced by Waw naturally stands mostly in connection with something preceding; and in historical narrative most sentences stand in connection with something preceding. Doubtless,

however, Gesenius intends something more than a truism, as he guards this statement by saying that "If there be any connection with an earlier advent, the Fut. with Waw may even begin a narrative or a section of one." As, however, all narrative has a connection with earlier events, especially in sacred history, unless indeed it be the history of the Creation, this latter statement only removes the truism a stage further back. A single Perfect in the first verse of Genesis would justify Imperfects thence to the end of the Old Testament. In fact such a statement virtually amounts to saying that an Imperfect with Waw Cons. may occur anywhere, and so justifies the position that apart from the Waw there is no conscious dependence of this Imperfect on any previous tense.

In Müller, however, I cannot find any such admission that an Imperfect with Waw may begin a section. We might indeed apply the mathematical interpretation to "any word whatever," and understand it as including "nothing" or "no word at all;" but the limitation "which it in a manner elucidates" shuts us out from this refuge; a series of tenses can scarcely be intended to elucidate "nothing."

Again it is difficult to see how Müller's statements include the numerous instances in which an Imperfect with Waw Cons. resumes the narrative after a long speech in the oratio recta; though as this is virtually beginning a section, it might perhaps be left as another view of the difficulty stated above.

If, however, these gaps in Müller's statement were filled up, we see that they would amount to the elaboration of a truism, and to a virtual admission that the Imperfect with Waw Cons. may be used, whatever precedes. If Müller's statement were intended to show how the usage of this form, at a time when its origin in a dependence on the Perfect was forgotten, might be deduced from this origin, it would seem eminently useful and instructive; but an attempt to explain and describe the actual usage as if the authors of these books were conscious of an origin they seem to have entirely forgotten, is as mischievous and misleading as if we tried to make out that people were influenced in their use of a word by some long forgotten etymology.¹

¹ It may be noticed that this statement is almost identical with that by which Driver introduces his chapter on the "Imperfect with Strong Waw" (ch. VI., p. 83):

"By far the most usual method in which a series of events is narrated in Hebrew consists in connecting each fresh verb with the clause which precedes it by means of the so-called *waw conversivum* (ו) and the Imperfect."

Now it has been shown that this mode of describing the usage of the "Imperfect with Strong Waw" involves an important modification of the statements in such grammars as Bickell, Davidson and Mueller. But the student would understand from the general drift of the book that Driver was thoroughly at one with the current views on syntax and would not be likely to notice a modification unless it were dwelt upon as such. A student, for instance, who read Driver after Davidson would be apt to suppose that the words "clause which precedes" were to be understood in the light of Davidson's statement as to the usage of the Imperfect with Waw Cons.; and that some connected and preceding clause would contain the necessary simple Perfect.

Students would be more likely to profit by Driver's careful accuracy of statement, if the same characteristic prevailed in elementary works.

WRITING AMONG THE HEBREWS.

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I. BIBLICAL STATEMENTS.

There is no direct testimony that the Hebrews were acquainted with the art of writing before the time of Moses. It was not necessary that letters should have been engraved upon the signet ring of Judah (Gen xxxviii., 18); the record in Gen. xxiii. could even be urged as an *argumentum e silentio* for the time of Abraham; and the office of the שֹׁמְרִים, of whom Exod. v., 6 seqq., speaks, does not mean precisely "scribe," but "director, overseer." Nevertheless, it is evident from the way in which mention is made of the writing of Moses,¹ and at the same time of the writing of priests² and others,³ and also of the engraving of names and other words in stone and metal,⁴ that the art of writing was then somewhat diffused among the Hebrews, and was, therefore, no new discovery. In the Book of Joshua, we may compare viii., 32 (בִּשְׁנֵה חֹרֶת מִשֶּׁה, written upon stones) and xviii., 6, 8, 9 (a description of Canaan drawn up with a view to disposing of it by casting lots). Even in the times of the Judges the knowledge of writing must have been widely extended; for (Judg. viii., 14) a boy of Succoth, accidentally captured, is able to write down the names of seventy-seven princes and elders of that city (cf. 1 Sam. x., 25). Songs, such as those in Num. xxi. and Judg. v., must have been recorded at an early age (cf. also Josh. x., 13, סִפְר הַיָּשָׁר). Consequently the assertion of Hartmann, Vatke, and von Bohlen, that the art of writing could only have become known to the Hebrews shortly before or even after the time of Solomon, is indefensible. From the time of the kings there come to us numerous notices of the employment of writing in public as well as in private life, on the part of adults,⁵ and also of children (Isa. x., 19).

From Isa. viii., 1 (חֶרֶט אֲנִישׁ) it may be concluded that, in the time of Isaiah, beside the customary script there was a somewhat more cursive, perhaps

¹ Legal, Exod. xxiv., 4, 7; xxxiv., 27; Deut. xxxi., 9, 24; historical, Exod. xvii., 14; Num. xxxiii., 2; Song of Moses, Deut. xxxi., 22; compare also Num. xvii., 18 [E. V. 3].

² Num. v., 23.

³ Only in Deut. vi., 9; xi., 20; bill of divorcement, xxiv., 1, 3.

⁴ Exod. xxviii., 9, 36.

⁵ 2 Sam. xi., 4; 1 Kgs. xxi., 8, 11; 2 Kgs. v., 5 seqq.; x., 1; Isa. viii., 1; x., 1, 19; xxix., 11 seq.; xxx., 8; xxxvii., 14; xxxix., 1; Jer. xxix., 1; Hos. viii., 12; Hab. ii., 2; Ps. xiv., 2; 2 Chron. ii., 10; xxi., 12; bill of purchase, Jer. xxxii., 10; judicial procedure, Job xlii., 20; xxxi., 35; the State Secretary, סֹפֵר, 2 Sam. viii., 17; xx., 25; 1 Kgs. iv., 3; 2 Kgs. xii., 11; xix., 2; xxii., 8; the king's annalist, מִזְכֵּיר.

smaller, script, which could be read only by the more learned. According to many 'א' denotes the ancient Hebrew writing in contradistinction to that which came into Palestine with the Aramaic language,¹ the latter being then indeed very similar to the former, but nevertheless already so different as not to be generally readable.

Ezra iv., 7 (כְּתוּב אֲרָמִית) shows that the Hebrew script differed from the Aramaic at least in the time of Artaxerxes.

We must take it that paper (χάρτης 2 John, 12) was the material upon which persons ordinarily wrote. To be sure, this is not expressly affirmed in the Old Testament, but there is just as little indication in it that they used the prepared skins of beasts, though this is a common assumption. For the LXX. have rightly translated Jer. xxxvi. (Sept. xliii.) χαρτίον and χάρτης;² and as for Num. v., 23, we should take into account that fresh writing in ink can be washed from papyrus also. Papyrus grows abundantly in Palestine even now; for example, beside the sea of Huleh, in the plain of Gennesaret, and beside the Jordan in the vicinity of Jacob's Bridge. Parchment, discovered much later, is mentioned only in the New Testament (2 Tim. iv., 13, τὰς μεμβράνας).

The books were in the form of rolls (מְגִלָּה Jer. xxxvi.; Ezek. ii., 9; iii., 1 seqq.; Ps. xl., 8; Zech. v., 1, 2).

They wrote with a reed,³ cut to a point with the scribe's knife,⁴ and with ink.⁵ The writing utensils were carried in a girdle (Ezek. as cited above). For engraving on metal or stone, eventually also for carving in wood, an iron style⁶ was employed; because of a similar use the חֶרֶט (Isa. viii., 1) had its name (חרט, to carve, engrave.)

Beside the literature hereafter cited, we may name: E. A. Steglich, *Skizzen ueber Schrift- und Buechewesen der Hebräer zur Zeit des alten Bundes*, Leipzig, 1876, 4to, pp. 16.

II. HISTORY OF THE HEBREW SCRIPT.

A. The history of writing among the Hebrews is closely connected with that of writing in general, especially Semitic.

The ancient Semitic alphabet was not, indeed, originated by the Hebrews. The names of the letters are not pure Hebrew, neither is there any tradition or legend respecting it. The honor belongs to "a people speaking Canaanite and in intimate intercourse with the Egyptians;"⁷ the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings

¹ Isa. xxxvi., 11.

² "Despite his violent anger the king would not have thrown whole pieces of leather upon the open oriental fire-pan."—*Schlottmann*.

³ מֶנֶס, Ps. xlv., 2; Jer. viii., 8; κάλαμος, 3 John 13.

⁴ חֶרֶט הַסֹּפֵר, Jer. xxxvi., 23.

⁵ יֵי, Jer. xxxvi., 18; μέλαν, 2 Cor. iii., 3; 2 John, 12; 3 John, 13; inkstand, קֶסֶת הַסֹּפֵר, Ezek. ix., 2, 3, 11.

⁶ מַעֲזָל, Jer. xvii., 1; Job xix., 24.

⁷ Schlottmann, p. 1430b.

have been suggested. The inventor was certainly acquainted with the hieroglyphs; but, despite their exterior similarity, it is very doubtful whether the Egyptian and the Semitic signs are identical, and the latter, therefore, derived [from the former].

In the Semitic script the principle of acrophony rules; that is, each letter is represented by the picture of an object whose name begins with the letter under consideration: for example, the letter *d* by Δ, the outline of a tent-door, dalth, deleth, dāleth. It is to be further noted, that all the letters are in the first place only consonants. Probably there were not twenty-two letters at the beginning: it is quite possible that ה, ו, ד, ז were developed later from ה, ת, י, ש, through differentiation, and each of these last four represented two related sounds, as did י also later, similar to the Arabic ع and غ. At least the meaning of the names of ה, ו, ז, is entirely unknown; and ה and ז break into related groups of letters.¹ The order of the letters is shown to be very old by the alphabetical Psalms (ix. seq., xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxl., cxli., cxlv.), by Prov. xxxi., 10-31, and by Lam. i.-iv., and still more certainly by the ancient Greek alphabet. It has no fundamental plan of arrangement; yet an intentional classification is evident in several places.

In the north-Semitic group of languages, if we except the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform literature, a Western and an Eastern, or a Canaanitic and an Aramaic, development are to be distinguished. The same is true as to the characters used in writing.²

B. The oldest known witness, at present, to the development of the north-Semitic script is the thirty-four line inscription of Mesha', king of Moab, found in the year 1868, by the German minister, F. H. Klein, among the ruins of Dibon (Dhibân). It is of the ninth century before Christ (cf. 2 Kgs. iii., 4 seqq.). Concerning this inscription of which fragments, unfortunately incomplete, are now in the Louvre in Paris, see in particular: Th. Nöldeke, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab erklärt*, Kiel, 1870, page 38.; Const. Schlottman, *Die Siegestsäule Mesa's*, Halle, 1870, 51 pp.; *ZDMG.*, xxiv. (1870), page 253 seqq., 483 seqq., 645 seqq.; xxv. (1871), page 463 seqq.; L. Diestel, in the *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theologie*, 1871, page 215 seqq.

Closely related are the characters of the Siloam inscription, discovered in June, 1880, and belonging probably to the time of Hezekiah. Cf. especially, A. Socin, *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, iii. (1880), page 54 seq.; E. Kautzsch, *ZDPV.* iv., pages 102-114, 260-271 (with a lithograph); v., pages 205-218; H. Huthe, *ZDPV.* iv., 250-259; *ZDMG.* xxxvi. (1882), pages 725-750 (with a sun-print plate).

¹ Schlottmann is inclined also to strike י and פ from the oldest alphabet.

² The attempt made by W. Deecke (*ZDMG.* xxxi. 107 seqq.), to derive the ancient Semitic alphabet from the later Assyrian cuneiform writing, has not found anywhere a lasting endorsement.

Twenty seals with ancient Hebrew inscriptions belong probably to the period from the eighth to the seventh century B. C. See particularly M. A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen mit aramäischen, phönizischen, althebr., himjar.... Inschriften*, 1. c., 1869, pp. 55, plates 3.

Here we should place the Phœnician inscriptions, concerning which we are now receiving continuous disclosures, in a style worthy imitation, through the Paris *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia inscriptionum et litterarum humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars prima inscriptiones Phœnicias continens*, of which the first two numbers (Tom. i., fasc. 1, 2), have appeared (1881 and 1883). The epitaph of Eshmun'azar is to be especially noted in this connection. It is certainly of the first half of the fourth century B. C.: C. Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Eshmunazars, Königs der Sidonier*, Halle, 1868, pp. 202, plates 3; C. J. Kämpf, *Phönizische Epigraphik. Die Grabschrift Eshmunazar's, Königs der Sidonier. Urtext und Uebersetzung*, Prag, 1874, pp. 88.

Essentially the same script is on all Hebrew coins, of which we have not a few, perhaps from the time of Simon Maccabæus (143-135),¹ safely from John Hyrcanus I. (135-105),² down to the time of Bar Cochba. Cf. especially Fred. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (second volume of *The International Numismata Orientalia*), London, 1881, pp. xi, 329, large 4to, 279 wood-cuts and 1 plate.

This script was the one exclusively used by the Jews up to the time of Ezra. Then, as will hereafter be shown, it was gradually exchanged for (displaced by) the Aramaic.

The Semitic writing is "a younger, calligraphic remodeling of the ancient Hebrew" (Stade, *Hebr. Grammatik*, page 26). Several specimens of writing may be found in Rosen's essay: "Alte Handschriften des samaritanischen Penta-teuch," *ZDMG.*, xviii. (1864) pages 582-589.

From the foregoing account, we have purposely omitted the portions of an epitomized compilation of Deuteronomy brought to Europe in 1883 by the Jerusalem book-dealer W. M. Schapira. These are written, it is true, with letters very similar to those of the Moabite stone; but, as the writer of this article, who first saw the entire thing, said to the owner, it is an altogether modern production. The appearance of age has been skillfully given it by using the blank upper and lower edges of leather synagogue rolls as material for writing upon. Cf. my letter of August 31, addressed to the publisher of the *Times* (in the number for Sept. 4, 1883); my notice of Guthe's publication, named below, in *Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, No. 40; Franz Delitzsch's article, "Schapira's Pseudo-Deuteronomium," in the *Allgem. Ev.-Luther- Kirchenzeitung*, Nos. 36-39; H. Guthe, *Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift, enthaltend Mose's letzte Rede an die Kinder Israel, mitgetheilt und geprüeft*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 94. In view of the fact that the pieces of skin (some

¹ Madden, p. 61 seqq.

² de Saulcy, Ewald, Derenbourg.

years since declared a forgery, by C. Schlottmann, upon the ground of communications made in correspondence by Schapira) and the "Moabitica"¹ were brought to Europe by the same dealer, we may refer merely to the most important literature respecting the latter. Const. Schlottmann, *ZDMG.*, vols. 26-28; H. Weser, *ib.* vols. 26, 28; Ad. Koch, *Moabitisch oder Selimisch?* Stuttgart, 1876, pp. 98; E. Kautzsch and A. Socin, *Die Aechtheit der Moabitischen Alterthümer geprüft*, Strassburg, 1876. pp. 191.

C. The oldest authenticated documents in respect of the Eastern or Aramaic development of the north-Semitic writing, are the old Aramaic seal inscriptions, which differ but a little from the ancient Hebrew. The main point in these gradual changes can be stated thus: Opening of the closed heads (ב, ד, ר, later also י), rounding of the angular forms.

The development proceeds very well, if we shall arrange the material at hand for critical examination in the following manner: The Assyrian clay tablets with conventions in the cuneiform character and Aramaic letters. The papyrus written by Aramæans in Egypt during the Persian domination, upon which final letters for כ, ל, נ are already distinguished. The Cilician coins of the fourth century [B. C.]. The stone of Carpentras (in the department of Vaucluse). The Nabatean and the Palmyrene inscriptions. The inscription of 'Arâq el-Emîr (half-way between Rabbath Ammon and Jericho), probably soon after 176 B. C. The inscription of the priestly family, the בְּנֵי הַזֵּזִיר, on "the Tomb of St. James" (Valley of Kidron), presumably of the first century B. C. The word of Christ (Matt. v., 18), *ἵστα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαλα ὅτι μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*, has reference, doubtless, not to the ancient Hebrew characters, but to those of the Eastern development. The Kefr Bir'im inscriptions (seven and a half miles NNW. from Safed) which, according to Renan,² belong to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ, while Levy and Schlottmann maintain that they are older.

Out of this style of writing with its many ligatures, by the isolation of the letters and a tendency to calligraphy, the square character (כְּתָב מְרֻבֵּעַ) has arisen.

D. The adoption of the Aramaic script on the part of the Jews, did not occur all at once, but by degrees. The oldest witness which attests the entrance of this script into Palestine, is the 'Arâq el-Emîr inscription, consisting, unfortunately, of only five letters, מוֹכִיָּה: it has the ancient Hebrew Yodh. The later inscription on the so-called "Tomb of St. James," already mentioned, shows only the Aramaic type of writing. Though all Hebrew coins, even those of Bar Cochba, have legends in the ancient Hebrew script, yet we may hardly hold that this is the act of a cultured patriotism which had knowledge of the old national script that had become obsolete, but we must conclude that the ancient script was then

¹ [The Berlin "Moabitica;" to be distinguished, of course, from the Moabite stone. Tr.].

² *Journal Asiat.*, 1864, Vol. IV., p. 531 seqq.; 1865, Vol. VI., p. 561 seqq.

quite generally known; for what is illegible can hardly command the patriotism of the ordinary man, and beside this the writing upon the coins was essentially that of the Samaritans whom the Jews so hated. The knowledge, nay more, the use, of the ancient script follows from the Mishna *Yadayim* iv., 5. Here also are to be noted two statements of Origen by way of citation which can scarcely be assigned to a later period. According to Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis quæ supersunt*, I., 86, he says that the Greeks use κύριος for the unpronounceable divine name, and then he continues: καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβέσι τῶν ἀντιγράφων Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς νῦν φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἑσδραν ἐτέροις χρῆσασθαι μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν. And in respect to Ezek. ix., 4 (Montf. II., 282) he says that a baptized Jew told him: τὰ ἀρχαῖα στοιχεῖα ἐμπερὲς ἔχειν τὸ θαῦ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ χαρακτῆρι. There is no indication whatever that the ancient script has been used by the Jews since the second century of the Christian era.

How is this complete disappearance to be explained? Only upon the hypothesis that earlier than this the Aramaic script (the square character) had come to be considered sacred, the ancient Hebrew profane. Even in the above-cited Mishna, it stands as an incontrovertible dogma that the Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible were only to be deemed sacred in case they were written in the square script (אשורית) with ink upon leather (עור), but not if the (ancient) Hebrew writing (כתב עברי) were employed. Whence the sacredness of this script? The view that Ezra brought the square writing with him from Assyria out of the exile—a view attested so early as the second century after Christ (Rabbi Jose, Rabbi Nathan)—is significant in this connection.¹ Even if Ezra did not bring the Aramaic script with him (it came without him, along with the Aramaic language), it is nevertheless most probable that he caused the Aramaic writing to be used in the numerous copies of the law which were made at his procurement. Inasmuch as the letters of the law came more and more to be regarded as divine, and the difference between the two types of writing constantly increased, at a later period such a change in the script would not have been possible.

E. From various statements in the Talmud (e. g., *Sabbath*, 103, 104), we perceive first, that the square writing employed in its time had long since attained a defined form, and second, that the character found in manuscripts and imprints corresponds with it.² This stability is explained by the peculiar respect entertained for the law, which was written with these letters.³ There is a diversity in the characters employed in the manuscripts of the Bible, but one that in no way makes against the correspondence just spoken of. By this diversity we are enabled to determine, often with certainty, as to the nationality of respective

¹ Jerusalem Talmud, *Megilla* i., 11 (Shitomir's edition, i., 9), fol. 71, col. b, l. 56 seqq.; Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 21, col. b.

² Cf. A. Berliner, *Beitræge zur hebr. Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879, pp. 15-26.

³ Cf. my article "Massora," *PRE.* ix., 389, and the bibliography given therein, Remark 2.

manuscripts or of their transcribers; e. g., it is very easy to distinguish between Spanish and German codices of the Bible. To a far less extent are we able, from the characters used, to speak with assurance respecting the age of a manuscript; many statements in catalogues purporting to be absolute are purely suggestive, and may be in great measure incapable of proof.

As old witnesses regarding the state of the square script in the earlier centuries [of the Christian era], we may here name: the ten tomb inscriptions in Venosa, Lavello and Brindisi—of the first half of the ninth century—published by G. J. Ascoli;¹ and the codex of the prophets with the Babylonian punctuation—of the year 916.²

On the contrary we are not to take into account: first, the epitaph of the Mashta found in Aden; for, to the date "29 Seleuc.," we have to restore not only the order of thousands, but of hundreds also (1029 Seleuc. = 717 A. D.);³ second, very many "finds" of the Karaite, Abr. Firkowitsch, who died at Tschufutkale in the Crimea, 1874, viz., all epigraphs which are said to have been written earlier than the year 916, and almost, if not quite, all epitaphs which now bear date as of the fifth or even the fourth millenary, Jewish chronology (therefore before 1240 or even 240 after Christ). The epitaphs are collected in the ספר אנכי זכרון, published by A. Firkowitsch (Wilna, 1872). D. Chwolson has especially maintained the genuineness of the Firkowitsch finds.⁴ Cf. on the contrary, what the writer has observed concerning the numerous forgeries of Firkowitsch (also touching upon the history of the punctuation and the Massora) in *A. Firkowitsch und seine Entdeckungen. Ein Grabstein den hebr. Grabschriften der Krim*, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 44; *Theol. Litztg.*, 1878, No. 25, col. 619 seq.; *Die Dikduke ha-teamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher*, Leipzig, 1879, Introduction; *ZDMG.* xxxiv. (1880), pages 163-168; *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1883, No. 25, cols. 878-880.

Concerning the peculiar embellishments of numerous letters, the so-called תגין or כתרים, cf. Talmud, *Menachoth*, 29, cols. a, b; *Sabbath*, 89, col. a; 105, col. b; ספר תגין, *Sepher Taghin, Liber coronularum*.... editit.... J. J. L. Barges, Paris, 1886, pp. xxxi, 42, 55, 16mo.; J. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, Vol. IX., pages 242-251.

The literature relating to the punctuation I have given in the article "*Massora*," [PRE.2] Vol. IX., page 390, Rem. 2, and page 393, Rem. 3.

¹ *Iscrizioni inedite o mal note, greche, latine, ebraiche, di antichi sepolcristi giudaici del Napoli. tano, edite e illustrate*, Turin and Rome, 1890, pp. 120, 8 sun-print plates.

² *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitani*.... editit Hermannus Strack, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1876.

³ Against Levy, Stade, Schlottman, and others.

⁴ *Achtzehn hebraische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1865, pp. 135, large 4to, 9 plates; and *Corpus inscriptionum Hebraicarum* (1882) [Title given in Bibliography]. Although the author in the second work concedes that Firkowitsch has forged much, still his point of view is wholly uncritical; and the invectives and charges vociferated against the undersigned do not conceal this from the learned.

Facsimiles of Hebrew manuscripts: The Paleographical Society. *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*. Oriental series. Edited by W. Wright, London; Part I., fol. 13, Hebrew Lexicon of Menachem ben Saruq, of the year 1091; fol. 14, ib. of the year 1189; fol. 15, Rashi, Comment. on the Talmud, 1190; Part II., fol. 30, Moses ben-Shem-Tob of Leon, *Sepher ha-Mishkal*, 1363-4, Algiers; Part III., fol. 40, Manuscript of the Bible; fol. 41, ib., Jan., 1347; Part IV., fol. 54, ib.; fol. 55, Al-Charisi, *Tachkemoni*, 1282; fol. 56, Jerusalem Talmud, 1288-9; Part V., fol. 68, Isaac ben-Joseph, *Sepher Mitzvoth Katon* (סמ"ק), 1401.¹ M. Steinschneider, *Catalogus codicum Hebræorum bibliothecæ Lugduno-Batavæ*, Leyden, 1858, 11 plates; *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Vol. II., *Verzeichniss der hebr. Handschriften*, Berlin, 1878, 3 plates with 27 specimens of writing; *Die hebr. Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen*, Munich, 1875, Facsimile of the Talmud Manuscript No. 85. M. S. Zuckermann gave a facsimile of each of the Erfurt and Vienna manuscripts of the Tosefta (Tosefta, Pasewalk, 1880. Supplement, Treves, 1882). Chwolson, *Corpus etc.* B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Berlin, 1881, seqq.

Copies of Hebrew epitaphs: Firkowitzsch in אבני זכרון (imperfect); Chwolson in both his works already named; Ascoli, as cited above; The Paleographical Society, etc., Part II., fol. 29, Epitaph of the Mashta, ostensibly of the year 717-8, in reality later (see above). The practiced hand of Prof. Jul. Euting has given a detailed graphical exposition of the history of the Hebrew alphabet three times, in *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar*, by G. Bickell (translated by S. I. Curtiss), Leipzig, 1877; *The Hebrew Alphabet*, *The Paleogr. Soc.*, Part VII., London, 1882; Chwolson, *Corpus etc.*

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¹ The editors are disposed to hold that the codices used for folios 40 and 54 were written in the twelfth century. It is doubtful whether this is correct.

pp. 358, 398 (1st, Semitic Alphabets; 2d, Aryan Alphabets), particularly Vol. I., pages 268-283; A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. des griech. Alphabets*, 3d edition, Berlin, 1877, pp. 168 with illustrations.

Emm. de Rougé, *Memoire sur l'origine egyptienne de l'alphabet phenicien* [written 1859]... publié... par Jacques de Rougé, Paris, 1874, pp. 110; E. van Drival, *De l'origine de l'écriture*, 3d edition, Paris, 1879, pp. 170; M. de Vogüé, *Melanges d'archeologie orientale*, Paris, 1868; *Syrie centrale. Inscriptions semitiques publiees avec traduction et commentaire*, Paris, 1868 seq.; Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phenicie*, Paris, 1874; F. Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phenicien dans l'ancien monde*, 2 vols., Paris, 1872, 1873; 2d Edition 1875.

Wilh. Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, page 137 seqq. [nearly antiquated]; J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 4th edition, §§ 63-78, 342-377, Göttingen, 1823, Vols. I. and II.; H. Hupfeld, "Kritische Beleuchtung einiger dunkeln und missverstandenen Stellen der alttestam. Textgeschichte," *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, Nos. 2-4, and 1837, No. 3; *Ausführliche hebräische Grammatik* [not completed], Kassel, 1841, § 7 seqq.; Ad. Merx, article "Schreiber, Schreibkunst," in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, V., 240-247; H. L. Strack, "Die bibl. und die massoretischen Handschriften zu Tschufutkale in der Krim," *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theologie und Kirche*, 1875, pages 585-624; B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Grammatik*, Part I. [all], Leipzig, 1879, pages 22-24 [this also treats of other matters of literary interest]; C. Schlottmann, article "Schrift und Schriftzeichen," in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums*, Part XV. (1881), pages 1416-1431 (of great value); D. Chwolson, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, containing epitaphs from the Crimea and other epitaphs, in the early Hebrew square characters, as also specimens of the script from the ninth to the fifteenth century, St. Petersburg, 1882, 528 cols., folio, 4 photo-lithographs, 2 photo-type plates, and one in script (fails to accomplish its peculiar purpose, the defence of the Firkowitsch "finds;" but is valuable by reason of its specimens of writing and as a collection of much literary material that had else been scattered).

Leopold Löwe, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden*, 2 parts, Leipzig, 1870, 1871 (alternate title: *Beiträge zur juedischen Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I.), pp. 243; 190. Contents: Material upon which they wrote; Materials and utensils for writing; Scribe; Records.—Noteworthy because of its careful use of the Jewish literature. For the names of the ancient Hebrew script compare moreover, the essay, כתב ליכונאה and כתב רעץ, by Georg Hoffmann, *Ztschr. fuer die alttest. Wissensch.*, 1881, pages p. 334-338.

ŠUZUB THE BABYLONIAN AND ŠUZUB THE CHALDÆAN, KINGS OF BABYLON.

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With pleasure I avail myself of the opportunity which has been offered to me to furnish a small contribution to the album which is to be presented to Dr. Leemans. I should be very loth not to take any part in the homage to the esteemed scholar, the friend of my father, who constantly honored me also with his hearty friendship.

I have not, indeed, any important discoveries to communicate, but a short historical-critical contribution to the history of the reign of Sennacherib may suffice.

In the inscriptions of this king, especially in the Taylor-Cylinder (Hexagon) Šuzub occurs several times as the name of an obstinate enemy. But it seems to be difficult to reconcile the various accounts concerning him.

First, in the course of his expedition against Marduk-bal-iddin, of Bît-Yakîn (fourth campaign) the king gains a victory over Šuzub, the Chaldæan, who dwelt in the marshy districts near the sea. Šuzub flees and disappears entirely (ul innamir ašaršu). A few years later (in the sixth campaign) when returning from his adventurous voyage to Nagitu, Sennacherib gains a victory over Šuzub, the Babylonian, who had taken advantage of the disorder and anarchy of the country (ina ešiti mati) to usurp the dominion of Šumer and Akkad, and with him his ally the king of Elam. Šuzub he takes prisoner, brings him in fetters to Nineveh and there shuts him up in the great gate (cf. the Tabl. in Smith's *Sennach.*, p. 105). The account in III. R. 4, that Šuzub fled and fell from his horse probably has reference to this capture. But again a few years later Šuzub still sits on the throne of Babylon, makes an alliance with Ummanmênanu of Elam, and Sennacherib directs against him his eighth campaign, which, according to the Assyrians, results in the defeat and the flight of the allied kings. The Taylor-Cylinder written in 691 B. C. (limu Bel-êmurani, governor of Kargamiš) is still ignorant of his imprisonment. Only the Bavian inscription, composed at a later time, speaks of a second expedition to Babylon (ina šani harraniya) in which the city is destroyed, and Šuzub is taken captive.

On the supposition that all these accounts refer to the same Šuzub, it was supposed that he had either escaped from his prison, or had received mercy at the

* See the note on "The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans," p. 243.

hands of Sennacherib. The first is improbability itself, the other is not in accordance with the disposition of the most unmerciful of the Assyrian kings, and if it had occurred it certainly would have been mentioned by him in order to show the ingratitude of Šuzub.

But even a careful comparison of these passages shows plainly that we have to do here, not with one Šuzub, but with two persons bearing the same name. The one is called (Tayl. III., 45 and v., 8) "the Chaldæan" (amelu) Kal-dâ-a-a (var.-da-a-a) or (Nebi-Yun. 28) mâr m. Ga-hul, the other (Tayl. IV., 35) "a born Babylonian," tur-ka-dingir-ra-ki (or mâr Bâbîli) which by no means is the same thing. The Chaldæan was originally ruler of a small State in Lower-Chaldæa, who in 699 had rebelled against the governor of Lachir, to whom he was subordinate, and then, after having been defeated by the Assyrian army, had fled to Elam. This is related twice, the second time a little more fully, in the Taylor-Cylinder (III., 45 seq., and v., 8-14). The repetition serves as an introduction to the account of his ascending the throne, and his war against Assyria, in alliance with Elam. The writer of the document from which III., 45 seq. is drawn, did not know whither he had gone; afterwards it appeared that he had taken refuge in Elam, but had fled thence to Babylon, where they crowned him as king. The other was a Babylonian by birth, who reigned at an earlier period. He is mentioned (besides Tayl. IV., 35) Tayl. v., 5, where it is related that the Babylonians, —evil devils,—had shut the gates of their city against the Assyrians after Šuzub had been carried off. Arki Šu-zu-bi is-si-ḫu can not mean: "nach dem Š. sich empört hatte" (Hörning), nor "after Š. was driven away." Smith, but only "after Š. had been carried off." Nasaḫu always, also Deluge II., 45 (where Haupt translates very freely: Dibbara enterfesselt die Wirbelwinde) has the meaning of "conveying, leading," either "conveying to," or "away from." This Š., therefore, is the Babylonian who was imprisoned in the gate at Nineveh. After this the account proceeds to the other Šuzub, the Chaldæan, describes his various vicissitudes, and then comes to its real subject, the eighth campaign of Sennacherib.

This distinction, grounded on an accurate interpretation of the historical texts of Sennacherib, is now, according to my judgment, made certain by the Babylonian Canon recently discovered, and by the fragment of the corresponding Chronicles, found at the same time. See Pinches in the Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology, May 6, 1884.

There, after Sennacherib's brother there follow first the king Nêrgal-uše-zib, who reigned one year and six months (693-2), and whose name has been corrupted to Πηγεβήλος in the Ptol. Canon, and after him, during four years (692-689). Mušêzib-Marduk, who is identical with the Μεσησιμορδάκις of the Canon of Ptolemaeus. Both names are compounded with Šuzubar (from êzibu). Probably they were both originally named simply Šuzub, one of the elliptical

proper names, so common among the Semites. It seems that the name also occurs in the inscription of Tema, recently discovered by Euting. On ascending the throne they changed this name into Nêrgal-ušêzib and Mušêzib-Marduk, but both continued to be called, with a certain amount of contempt, simply Šuzub by the Assyrians, who did not acknowledge their legitimacy, just as conversely Tiglath-pileser II. and Shalmaneser IV. were called Pulu and Urlûlâi by the Babylonians, for the same reasons.

That what the Babylonian Chronicles relate of the two kings, taking into consideration the different point of view of the Assyrians and the Babylonians, agrees very well with what the Assyrian sources tell us of the two Šuzubs, and that the chronology also admits of no other interpretation is certain, but cannot here be further elaborated.

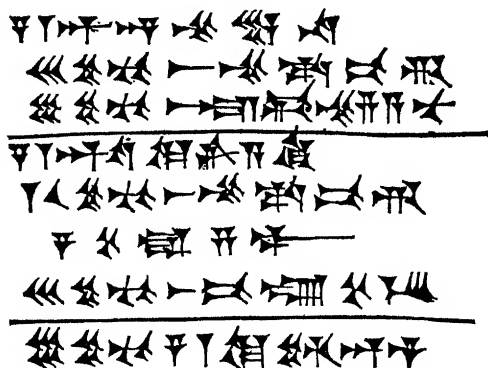
AN ASSYRIAN RECORD OF RECEIPTS OF TAXES.

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The short text given herewith is one of the tablets of the K. (Kononymyik) collection in the British Museum, discovered by Sir A. H. Layard. It is inscribed on a small tablet, 2½ inches long by 1½ inch broad, six of the eight lines of writing it bears being upon the obverse, and continued, as is usual with tablets of this class, round the edge on the reverse. The style of the writing is Babylonian, and the reproduction here published gives a fair idea of the forms of the characters in the original.

K. 764.



TRANSCRIPTION.

Ša 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Aššur-šum-iddi-na:—
 šelašā zērî ina mu-da-bi-ri;
 šuššu zērî ina âl ga-mu-za-a-nu.

Ša 𐎶𐎵𐎶 Šamaš-di-ni-a-mur:—
 sibā zērî ina mu-da-bi-ri
 ša mât Ra-ša-pi;
 šelašā zērî ina bi-rit šadāni

Šuššu zērî ša 𐎶 Ki-šir 𐎶𐎵 Šur.

TRANSLATION.

From Aššur-šum-iddina:—
 30 of seed from the pasture;
 60 of seed from the city Gamuzanu.

From Šamaš-dîni-âmur:—

70 of seed from the pasture

of the land of Reseph;

30 of seed from the midst of the mountains.

60 of seed from Kišir-Šur.

Aššur-šum-iddina "Aššur has given a name."

Mudabiri, oblique case, after ina, of mudabiru, defectively written for mudabbiru, participle-noun from the Pu'ul (dubburu) of dabāru, Hebrew מְדַבֵּר *to lead* (flocks and herds) *to pasture*. Whether mudabiru is the same as mudbaru or not is doubtful—mudbaru has probably the meaning of "desert" only. (Compare מְדַבֵּר (1) *a pasture*, (2) *a desert*.)

Al Gamuzānu, probably "the city of cypresses." Compare the Heb. גִּמְזוֹן (= גִּמְזוֹן). Most likely near Reseph.

Šamaš-dîni-âmur, probably "I have seen the Sun of judgment" (= "I have seen the Sungod, the judge"). Šamaš was especially regarded by the Babylonians and Assyrians as "the judge."

Mât Rašāpi, רַשָּׁפִי, Reseph, the well-known district of Palmyra (see Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 297).

Ina birit šadâni, "in the midst of the mountains," probably the district west of Aleppo. The character MAT-MEŠ may also be read mâtāti *countries*, but this meaning does not fit so well.

Kišir-Šur is probably for Kišir-Aššur, "Aššur's bond," the defective writing indicating either a vulgar pronunciation or a mistake of the scribe.

This interesting little text belongs, probably, to the time of Aššur-banî-apli, and is valuable in showing that the Assyrian dominion over the outlying provinces was at the time real. The three names quoted on the tablet can hardly be other than those of Assyrians; and far though they were from the centre, they had, like all the rest, also to submit to the visits of the tax-gatherer, who was, probably not, at times, over-welcome.

THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND THE DIALECTS.

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That the student of Hebrew who would go beyond the mechanical *kāṭāl* and search out the *rationale* and spirit of the language as well as learn the bare facts lying upon the surface, must also pay more or less attention to the other Semitic dialects, goes almost without saying. This claim of the sister tongues was accepted even when there was no deeper than a practical interest taken in Hebrew; but it has secured a scientific basis and recognition only in the philological methods of our own day and date. The historico-comparative method is now generally accepted as the correct principle of scientific research. The philosophy of this method consists in this, that it seeks to understand its science as a growth, as the resultant of historical factors and agencies, and does so largely with the assistance drawn from related and allied departments. Although applied most consistently and with the richest results to the natural sciences, it has been employed also with marked success to theological, historical, and other research. In philology this comparative method has, since the introduction of Sanskrit, and chiefly through its instrumentality, revolutionized the study of the languages and culture of the Indo-European nations, and has been the principle means of establishing modern comparative philological science. In the Semitic studies the dialects were appealed to even at an earlier date than was the case with the Indo-European; but this was done rather on the principle of *stat pro ratione voluntas*.¹ It is only within comparatively recent times that order and system was brought into this work, and even to the present day questions of method in this respect have not been settled, so that in regard to both the grammar and the lexicon of the Hebrew language Semitic scholars are not a unit as to the influence and voice which should be accorded to this or that dialect. In fact, the publication of Friedrich Delitzsch's "The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research" (1883), and his "Prolegomena" to a new Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon (1886), has, as far as the lexicography of Hebrew is concerned, started anew questions of the deepest fundamental importance.

The study of the dialects by the thorough student of Hebrew is accordingly already demanded by the best scientific method of the day, and this demand is

¹ On the comparative method in general cf. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, 1867, p. 240 seq.; Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 1869, p. 313 seq. *et passim*. The etymological adventures made by some of the Hebrew scholars of two and three centuries ago are as crude as those found in Cicero and other old writers, cf. Benfey, l. c. p. 149 seq.; p. 229 seq.

fully sustained and emphasized by an examination of the relation and connection sustained by the various dialects to the Hebrew. In this connection it is of prime importance to remember just what position this study should occupy in the Hebrew student's work. It is a fact beyond dispute, but yet one not always remembered or acted upon, that the first thing necessary for the student of Hebrew, or of any other language, is to acquire the facts of that language as they are given in its literature. Nothing is more fatal to a solid and lucid study of a language than to approach it with a preconceived notion as to its origin, character, or relation with other dialects and languages. The right method of learning a language intelligently and correctly is the synthetic and constructive, and the materials that should be employed in this process are not this or that philological hypothesis, or this or that related tongue. Thus the principle and first source from which to draw our knowledge of the Hebrew is the Hebrew itself. In both the grammar and the lexicon of Hebrew this principle has not been allowed full sway. It is one of the weaknesses of Ewald's grammatical system that he approaches the phenomena of the Hebrew language with certain fixed ideas of the character and growth of language in general and of the Hebrew in particular; while it is equally a fault in the antithesis set up against Ewald's ideas by Olshausen, that he first constructs, chiefly upon the basis of the Arabic, a scheme of a proto-Semitic grammar, and explains the Hebrew forms as developments from this, but it has the redeeming feature that, to a great extent at least, this reconstruction of primitive Semitic forms is the result of previous deductions on the basis of correct comparative work. On the other hand, it is the charm of the ever popular grammar of Gesenius that for the most part he takes the facts pure and simple as he finds them in the Sacred Records and seeks to explain them rationally with whatever help he can find in the Hebrew itself, or in the cognate tongues. It is the merit of the inductive method, which is now being adopted by nearly all the Hebrew teachers of the land, that it carries out with a rigor and a vigor hitherto unknown, the idea of making Hebrew its own interpreter, of collecting and systematically arranging the facts of the language, and then from these facts deducing the principles that underlie them. While in no wise despising the help drawn from the cognates or from philological science in general, it nevertheless seeks in all cases to draw first from the Hebrew itself the data for an intelligent conception of Hebrew grammar. While as a system and in its conception of the language it may bear a close resemblance to the ideas of Olshausen and Bickell, yet in the manner of reaching these conclusions it resembles mostly the ways of Gesenius.

In Hebrew lexicography, too, the self-interpreting principle has not always been faithfully observed, and here, probably more than in the grammar, have the dialects been allowed a primary where they should have had only a secondary voice. The temptations here were all the more dangerous to resist, both on account of the meagre material afforded for a full and methodical lexicon by the rem-

nants of the literature of the Hebrews preserved to us in the Old Testament, as also because the cognate tongues offer in this regard more complete and in many respects more satisfactory material than they do to the Hebrew grammarian. For a number of reasons the editors of the last two editions of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, Professors Mühlau and Volck of Dorpat, Russia, have been singled out as the representatives of this false principle in Hebrew lexicography, although they have probably not been the chief of sinners in this regard.¹ These two editions more than any of their predecessors are under the spell of the Arabic school; and the principle of a biliteral basis of large classes of Hebrew roots with one general meaning out of which the various special meanings have been developed has been carried out to such an extent that impossibilities were attempted. The attack of the younger Delitzsch on this feature of the lexicon is in its main outlines certainly justifiable, although many of the etymologies which he proposes for Hebrew words on the basis of the Assyrian are equally unsatisfactory, at least in their present shape. But the principle he pronounces on p. 21 of his *Prolegomena* is certainly correct. There he says: "Hebrew lexicography must in the future also direct its chief attention, without swerving (*abschweifen*) to the other Semitic dialects, toward getting the meaning of the Hebrew and the Biblical-Aramaic words first of all from the Old Testament *usus loquendi*. Only when this has been done and found fruitless, has the time come for consulting the related languages." Delitzsch was not the first to enunciate this principle, but he was the first to give it such general application. His forthcoming Hebrew lexicon must yet show whether he has not, pendulum-like, swung to the other extreme and given to Assyrian privileges which he justly denies to Arabic.

The Hebrew has many *cruces* which even the Assyrian, now seemingly regarded by some as a panacea for all the ills that Hebrew grammar and lexicography are subject to, may not solve. Kautzsch's programme on the word צֶרֶק and Baudissin's on קִרְשׁ are fair examples of the manner of determining the meaning of Old Testament words on the basis of a full and fair comparison of the words as found used by the Old Testament writers, without assigning to the etymology—true or imaginary—of the word the decisive voice in determining the signification. Indeed philology in general demonstrates, beyond any fair doubt, that the etymology of a word in itself, and even if this be based upon the most learned research in the related tongues, cannot settle the actual meaning of a word. This can be done only by the *usus loquendi* of a people, however important testimony as to this use may be offered by the dialects, especially in regard to ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and other rare words. Following only the etymology of a word as a

¹ Far more arbitrary, only in a somewhat different direction, have been Fuerst and his followers. Delitzsch, Sr., also in his *Jesurun*, 1838, took a very radical stand-point. His work was written as a Prolegomena to the concordance of Fuerst and "*contra Ewaldum et Gesenium*," (see title page).

guide, even if that etymology is the correct one, may lead the investigator to an altogether false idea. For an independent student of Hebrew a concordance is as necessary as a dictionary.

But among the secondary helps of the Hebrew student the dialects undoubtedly hold the first position, both in grammatical and in lexicographical research. No thorough student of a language is, of course, satisfied with the mere mechanical acquisition of the facts of the language as such; he aims to understand the genius, the character, the growth of the language, in other words, to understand it philosophically and intelligently as the expression of thought. It is one thing to be able to conjugate a verb and another thing to be able to determine what elements enter into the composition of each form of the verb and each conjugation, and how these elements combine to express the shape and shades of thought actually conveyed by them. It is only when a language can be intelligently analyzed, both as to its forms and as to the peculiarities of its syntax, that it can be said to be understood by the student.¹ In order to be able to do this in Hebrew, a greater or less knowledge of the related tongues is indispensable; and this for the simple reason that these tongues are so closely related that one will naturally throw a great deal of light upon the growth and character of the other; they all will combine to form a clear idea as to the peculiarities of the Semitic class of languages over against the Indo-European and the Turanian, and this knowledge of the whole class will throw a reflected light upon the nature of the individual members of this class and help to solve the enigmas suggested by an examination of its etymology and syntax. These tongues are all closely related and connected with one another and show the same general character and spirit; but the one or the other has developed more extensively and more consistently some one special feature of the whole class, while in a second dialect this feature may show itself only enough to perplex the student, who can relieve himself of his perplexity only by following out this feature in its more developed form in the related dialects. Thus the various Semitic dialects are supplementary and complementary to each other. Examples of where the Hebrew receives a flood of light from the related tongues will occur at once to those who have an acquaintance with these tongues. Gesenius, in his *Lehrgebäude* (1817) has, probably with a greater fullness than any other grammarian, compared the Hebrew forms with those of the other dialects, and while his work may at places require some changes, yet it as a whole stands without a rival and is simply indispensable to the accurate student of Hebrew. By other authors work of a similar kind has been done, though not as extensively. As far as the Semitic verb is concerned Wright's *Arabic Grammar* in two volumes (1875) offers much and good material for comparative purposes. Naturally the least progress has been made in comparative work in the

¹ On the difference between the practical and the philosophical study of a language, cf. Benfey, l. c. p. 1 seq.

syntax, as there are but few who venture to undertake the laborious task of writing a Hebrew syntax—laborious chiefly because but little material has as yet been collected for the work—although we have been promised three from competent hands, namely, from Stade and König, in Germany, and Harper, in America. But what can be done by the comparative method in syntax also, when elaborately carried out, can be seen from the excellent little volume of Driver on the Hebrew Tenses. Of the work done, and to be done, by this method in Hebrew lexicography, we have already spoken, and mention here only the fact that a wealth of material for this purpose is found in another work of Gesenius, namely in his *Thesaurus*, completed by Rödiger. The dialects, methodically and scientifically applied to the elucidation of Hebrew, are yet a mine full of rich treasures.

HEBREW SYNTAX.

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I.

A vernacular knowledge of any language has the immense advantage over a book knowledge of it, in the sure and intimate acquaintance with the *facts* and forms of speech; but it is certain that in a scientific and philosophical acquaintance with the *principles* of dead languages, modern scholars are greatly in advance of the ancients who spoke those tongues. The blunders and inaccuracies of Roman authors in treating the etymology and structure of Latin are often amusing; and a Greek grammar of the days of Homer or Demosthenes, if such there were, would be a literary curiosity in more senses than one. In like manner Hebraists of the present day have investigated the peculiarities of "the sacred tongue" with a thoroughness and a comprehensiveness unknown to any other age. Not even the Massorites, who possessed next to a living knowledge of Hebrew, and who have fixed its vocalization for all time, exhibit anything comparable to the minute analysis and searching comparison of forms and constructions that characterize the latest inquiries into Hebrew grammar. The department of syntax especially has hitherto been defectively treated, and students therefore have occasion to welcome the introduction into schools of Ewald's *Hebrew Syntax*, which the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh made accessible to English readers by translating in 1879 that part of the learned German's *Ausfuhrliches Lehrbuch*. We will not have space, in the two short papers which we propose to devote to the subject, to examine in detail the many important suggestions and elucidations of this comprehensive and ingenious book; we will therefore confine our attention to the doctrines and relations of the so-called *tenses*, especially the "Future" (or, as Ewald prefers to call it, the "Imperfect"); which is confessedly the most difficult and least satisfactory point in modern treatises on Hebrew grammar.

The author sets out with an admirable statement of the ground difference in these two verb-forms:

"The simplest distinction of time in an action is, that the speaker first of all merely separates between the two grand and opposite aspects under which every conceivable action may be regarded. Man has first acted, passed through an experience, and sees before him something that is finished, or has taken place; but this very fact reminds him of that which does not yet exist, that which is behind and is expected. The former, or positive side, is that of experience, objective contem-

plation of action; the latter or negative side, is the higher subjective side of human thought and inference" (p. 1). Here the basal distinction of the *objective* (or past), and the *subjective* (or future) is clearly and truthfully drawn. But when the author proceeds, as he does in the very next sentence, and thereafter throughout his discussion, to draw the division thus: "Hence, with reference to action, the speaker views everything as already *finished*, and thus *before* him, or as *unfinished* and non-existent, but possibly *becoming* and coming," we conceive that he has materially departed from his former line of separation; for a positive action is not necessarily finished, nor is a negative one in the process of becoming at all. The exact and essential distinction had already been indicated, namely, the objective fact, and the subjective conception. This, and not the other, namely, of complete or incomplete execution, we find to be the true key to the intricacies of Hebrew usage with regard to the verb-forms. When the author proceeds to remark (p. 3) that "the names 'Preterite' and 'Future' are unsuitable, and have merely been derived from modern languages," we do not quite agree with him; for it is certain, even according to his own basis and the passages which he meanwhile has himself cited, that these are often, if not predominantly, the actual meanings of the two forms. But when he adds, "We designate them *Perfect* and *Imperfect*, understanding these names, however, not in the narrow sense attached to them in Latin grammars, but in a quite general way," we entirely disagree with him, and that for two reasons: 1. These names do not indicate the primary and real distinction; which is not the degree of completeness in an act, but the point of view from which it is regarded by the speaker (backward or forward, outward or inward), as Ewald himself set out by defining; 2. They, just as much as "Praeter" and "Future," are borrowed from other languages, with which the Hebrew has comparatively little analogy; and they are hampered with the additional disadvantage that, as Ewald himself confesses in adopting them, they must be taken, not as ordinarily understood in grammar, but in a peculiar and "quite general," i. e., very indefinite, way. We gain nothing, but lose much, by such a substitution. In proposing a new nomenclature, if we must entirely cut loose from conventional names, let us call them at once the Objective and the Subjective forms of the verb, and then we shall say just what we mean, and hit the nail on the head, and the right nail, too.

We have but little criticism to make on Ewald's further specifications of the use of the Praeter, but when he says (p. 6), that in such expressions as "they almost consumed me" (Ps. cxix., 87), it means "they would have killed me;" "one of the people almost lay with thy wife," as meaning "might have lien," etc., we demur; for in our judgment the intention of the verb-form being not so much to express a *perfect* act, or, as the French say, *un fait accompli*, but rather an objective one, the meaning is that these acts really did come near being effected, not by reason of an actual attempt, but because there was a direct opportunity

and provocation therefor. The danger or proximity (בְּמַעַט) was real, and not imaginary or even hypothetical; as it would have been represented had the Future been employed. It was not merely true that the calamity might *possibly* have occurred; but it was in fact imminently nigh. Nothing but the "almost" intervened. So we often say, "I almost fell," not meaning "I partly fell," or "I might have fallen," but "I came near falling," or "I was on the point of falling," by reason of some positive occurrence, which, however, did not include any actual *degree* of falling at all, although it did involve the *fact* of falling outright. That event was obviated, not by any subjective cause, but by an objective intervention. This last distinction is in harmony with our view of the essential distinction between the two Hebrew verb-forms.

Turning now to the second and more idiomatic of these, the so-called Future, Ewald's Imperfect, we shall note his two divisions of this latter idea, and then the subdivisions under them. We will take them up in his order: first as notations of *time*, i. e., tenses (pp. 7-13); and secondly as indications of *manner*, i. e., moods (pp. 14-25).

The equivalent of a *present tense* he evolves out of the notion of incipieny still continued. As an illustration he cites הֵצֵאוּ (1 Sam. xvii., 8), which he translates "ye are marching out." But we would render the clause thus, "Why *should you come out*," etc. The purpose there is not to express the fact of marching, nor yet its mode, much less its time or degree; but simply to demand its reason or cause; and as this lay in the feelings of the enemy, the subjective verb-form is the appropriate one. Ewald goes on to compare מֵאֵין בָּאתָ (or its equivalent) with מֵאֵין תָּבֵא (or its equivalent) as interchangeable, both meaning "Whence comest thou?" But this obliterates a nice distinction intended by the two phrases; for in each instance the former denotes (besides the question as to the locality) the (objective) fact of a journey, while the latter indicates its (subjective) purpose. This is especially obvious from the first passage which he cites (Gen. xvi., 8), where they (in substance) occur together, and are clearly contrasted, "And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, from whence *hast thou come* (אֵי מֵיָּה בָּאת)? and whither *will thou go* (וְאֵנָּה הֵלֵכִי)?" This passage is singularly inappropriate as an instance of the *present tense*; for one part of the journey was past and the other future.

A similar fallacy inheres in the author's extension of this principle of equality to the exchange of the two tenses in the respective members of poetic parallelism. This is a very common occurrence. Ewald cites but two examples, remarking that the interchange is made "merely for the sake of variety;" and this is the common supposition. But we apprehend that such a view does injustice to the genius of the usage. A real difference is always meant, although perhaps not an essential one; and the prevalent practice of translators, who plane out the distinction by the convenient use of the English present tense, is a vicious one,

detrimental to the delicate shade of signification. Thus, in the first of the two examples, Prov. XI., 7, "In the death of a wicked man hope will perish (תִּאֲכָר), and the confidence of iniquities has [then] perished (אָכַרְהוּ)," the common idea is disappointment, but the former clause regards the sinner prospectively as counting upon the future, while the latter contemplates him retrospectively as now no longer to be counted upon. So in the second passage cited, Prov. XIV., 18, "Simple ones have [always] inherited (נִחְלְלוּ) folly, but cunning ones—they shall crown themselves with (יִכְתְּרוּ) knowledge;" the contrast is with respect to character and success, the former clause under the figure of an inheritance (which points backward to the bequest), and the latter under that of coronation (pointing forward to a reign thus begun). In like manner, we think we could show that in every such supposed case of equation, there is a skillful shifting in the kaleidoscope of parallelism, not only by the variety of terms employed (which are studiously non-synonymous), but also in the tenses used to enhance their effect. It is a great pity that versions will go on perpetually confounding and obscuring what the original meant to be diverse and perspicuous. This scholastic artifice of introducing a present tense, which the language systematically ignores, has robbed Hebrew poetry of a subtle significance, and greatly stripped it of its terse beauty. But whether the distinction in question can be made palpable in a translation or not, it certainly lies on the face of the text; and plain English readers are entitled to be made aware of its existence, instead of having it effaced by the substitution of an intermediate present tense. The two verb-forms were evidently not employed by the sacred writer at random; and we see no other way of reproducing them so simple and truthful as by means of the corresponding tenses in English. These surely would not be the Perfect and the Imperfect, but some form of the Preterite and the Future or Conditional.

When Ewald goes on to argue that the Hebrew Future may "indicate what was becoming realized in the past," we still more emphatically object to his doctrine of its use, although we recognize the subjective principle to which he ascribes this usage, "animated description," "the fancy of the speaker." The poetical passages which he cites do not require or sustain this view. In Job III., 3, "The day in which I was born" (אֲנִי־יָ), is not "in which I was *to be* born," but is simply the usual conditional relative, when the fact is assumed. In Job III., 11, "Why did I not die?" (אֲמֹנֶה), is rather "Why should I not have died?" and, by the way, the second member does not carry on the question and the negative, but reads "From a womb I issued, and I should [then] have expired." Ewald's other poetical passages, Job XV., 7; Ps. CXXXIX., 16, are merely additional instances of the Future in relative clauses and in additional statements. He admits that this construction is rare in prose, and confined to certain combinations, especially with the particles מֶהֱ, אֵין, etc. To these has often been attributed a *conversive* force, but that explanation is unnecessary, although Ewald seems to favor it.

With **כִּי** this sort of *attraction* is most striking. It is resolvable, however, by the ordinary influence of a relative clause; for this particle is really a noun, and its construction is elliptical, q. d., "there was a *not-yet* that it should," etc. Hence, like all other relative phrases, it is occasionally used with a past tense, when the fact is intended to be definitely and independently asserted. The construction of the verb with **כִּי** usually exhibits nothing very peculiar; the particle simply marks exactness of time, whether past or future. We note here a curious fallacy respecting it into which Delitzsch has fallen in his commentary on Job xxxviii., 21 (Clark's edition, II., 318), where he cites Ewald here "on the Future joined with **כִּי** regularly in the signification of the *Aorist*," and accordingly translates "thou knowest it, for then thou wast born (**הָיִיתָ**)." Now to render the sense appropriate we need a Pluperfect, not an Aorist, "thou then hadst been born," for a child just born at the time would have known nothing. But this is not the force of the Future here. It is subjective, as ever, and therefore highly ironical, "For at that time thou *must* [on thy own presumption] have been born!" The sarcasm does not lie in **יָדָעָה**, "thou knowest" (a preteritive, strictly *past ascertained*; like *oida* from *eidon*), which is simply declarative, as laying the basis for the demand of an answer. That **כִּי** with a Future does not necessarily form an Aorist is plain from Ps. II., 5, where no one would think of rendering **יִדְבַּר** "he spoke." See also Ps. xcvi., 12, etc. The conversive force of **כִּי**, in the comparatively few cases where it occurs, seems to depend upon the fact that a corresponding tense (the Praeter) precedes, with which it is co-ordinated, imitating in this respect the law of **ו** conversive, e. g., with a Future, Exod. xiv., 1; Num. xxi., 17; Deut. iv., 41; Josh. viii., 30; x., 12; 1 Kgs. viii., 1; but not with the Praeter, for Exod. xv., 15; Judg. v., 11, are not to the point. In the above passage of Job, however, this co-ordination is not found.

While upon this matter of **ו** conversive, we wish to call attention to what we conceive to be an error in grammarians and translators, who neglect the above law of co-ordination in its use. Even with the Future tense, despite the distinctive pointing which it always then has, we find the verb often rendered as a Future still; and yet more frequently is the connection with the preceding Praeter disregarded. Some go so far indeed as to deny the necessity of this last condition altogether. But although it is obscure in some cases, we believe it is never entirely absent; and that if the reader will diligently search he will always find the antecedent Past tense, either expressed or implied. A remarkable example occurs in Ps. viii., where the first verb in verse 6 [English, 5] (**וַתַּחֲסֶהוּ**) is co-ordinated parenthetically with **אֶמְרָתִי** implied before verse 5, as a part of the *oratio directa*, which is likewise resumed in the second member of verse 7 (**יִשְׁתַּח**); while the intermediate verbs (**תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ** and **תִּמְשִׁלֶּהוּ**) are co-ordinated with the *oratio obliqua* in verse 5. The observance of these connections adds variety to the language, and illustrates the bearing of the declarative (objective) statements

upon the *constitution* of man in creation, and of the dependent (subjective) ones upon his *position* in providence. Rare instances, we admit, may be cited in which there is no appearance whatever of a Praeter antecedent in co-ordination with a converted Future; but these are due to the highly elliptical nature of the Hebrew language, which allows constructions of its laws difficult to make appreciable in English. For example, in Hosea VIII., we have a converted future (וַיֹּאכְלוּ) immediately following a simple future (וַיִּזְבְּחוּ), "They will sacrifice flesh, and have eaten." But it should be noticed that an incomplete clause (וַיִּזְבְּחוּ הַזִּבְחֹתַי) "the sacrifices of my holocausts," precedes, which is put forward as an absolute statement (like a *nominative independent*), and is therefore regarded as equivalent to a Praeter tense. We may therefore resolve the construction, by filling up the sentence thus, "[They have taken] the sacrifices of my holocausts, [which] they [are pleased to] sacrifice [as] flesh; and they have eaten [them]." This brings out the crime of these formalists, who went through the routine of worship perfunctorily, sacrificing the victims merely *as* flesh, and eating them accordingly; even when these should have been wholly consumed as a burnt-offering. Other instances may similarly be resolved on the principle of an elliptical or undeveloped *pro-tasis*, as is often the case with simple ׀ consecutive. They do not, therefore, invalidate the law of co-ordination.

It would be a curious and interesting question why the Hebrew alone of all the Semitic family exhibits this feature of ׀ converse. Perhaps it would be found to be because it adheres more closely than any of its sisters to the distinctive use of the two tenses. The Aramaean, for example, which was its nearest neighbor and most intimately allied to it historically—for Laban spoke Aramaean (Gen. XXXI., 47), and that was probably the vernacular of Abraham himself (cf. Deut. XXVI., 5, where Jacob is called an Aramaean by descent)—has no trace of it; and this is very lax in its constructions of the verb, going so far—at least in its later forms—as to construct a new Praeter out of the Participle.

MICAH, I., 5.

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The true reading of this prophetic word has been preserved in more than one ancient version, and after Houbigant¹ a few have substituted it for that of the Massoretic text.² But there are still commentators of note who do not follow it in their explanation of Micah,³ or even pass it by without mention,⁴ and the corrupt *textus receptus* serves as a proof-text in the history of the religion of Israel. It does not seem to be superfluous, therefore, once more to treat the critical problem ἀνωθεν, and, if possible, reach some permanent conclusion concerning it by a careful consideration of its pros and its cons.

After Micah has depicted the appearance of Jahwe in its fearful effects (I., 3, 4) he continues as follows, according to the Massoretic text:

בפשע יעקב כל-זאת
ובהטאות בית ישראל
מי פשע יעקב הלא שמרון
ומי במות יהודה הלא ירושלם

The meaning is clear: Jahwe comes to exercise judgment over his people; the apostasy of Jacob and the sin of Israel cause his wrath. In the second member the first word has been regarded, certainly erroneously, as plural,⁵ and therefore it was written with wāw. חטאות corresponds to פשע, and this was the reading of the LXX. among others. But otherwise the first half of the verse is perfectly clear. The Synonyms "Jacob" and "House of Israel," are used to designate the nation as a whole, and thus including the two kingdoms. In the second half, when they are named separately, each with its capital, Jacob stands for the northern kingdom, but the southern must be designated by its own proper name, Judah. The question: "Who is the apostasy of Jacob? Is it not Samaria!" is logically not strictly justifiable, because Samaria was not itself "the apostasy" of Northern Israel. But psychologically it is easily explained and justified. For Micah, the countryman, the sin of his people is concentrated in the capital and its corrupt aristocracy, and what he regards as certain in respect to Jerusalem, he also applies unhesitatingly to Samaria.

¹ *Notae Crit.* in V. T. libros II., 570 seq.

² J. A. Dathe, *Proph. Minores* ed., p. 211. T. Roorda, *Comment. in Val. Michae*, pp. 11-14. T. K. Cheyne, *Micah* (1882) pp. 18, 19.

³ Among others, Hartmann, Justi, van der Palm.

⁴ Among others, Ewald, Buusen, Caspari, Umbreit, Hitzig-Steiner, Keil.

⁵ E. g., by R. Smend (1875), *Moses apud Prophetas*, p. 55 seq., 57, 61. C. J. Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten* (1881), p. 167.

⁶ Of course, in connection with the reading בְּמוֹת in the fourth member, concerning which I shall speak presently.

There remains the fourth member, which we desire especially to treat: "And who [are] the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem!" Let us suppose for an instant that an entirely unanimous tradition bears witness for these words. Even then we should decide that Micah could not have written thus. In the first place, we have the parallel of Jerusalem and the high places of Judah, in the plural—a mistake in the form which surprises us, at least in the case of this prophet. But in the second place, the idea itself, the identification of those high places with Jerusalem strikes us as much more strange. Even though the capital had its *bamôth*,¹ yet it had fewer of them than any other city in Judea, because it had the temple, which is opposed to the *bamôth*, and in whose interest these were put away by Josiah² if not before this by Hezekiah.³ To make Jerusalem responsible for that which took place outside of its walls, and in opposition to its wishes—this certainly could not occur to Micah. The relation of the members of the verse furnishes a further difficulty. Just as the third corresponds to the first, so also the fourth must refer to the second. But then it ought to read: "and who is the sin of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem!" There is really no one who denies this. But it is thought that the prophet has purposely expressed this idea in another form, and so enriched it with a new element. Hitzig expresses this as follows: "Die Fortsetzung sollte eigentlich lauten: *und wer die Sünden Israels u.s.w.* Statt dessen benennt Micha diese Sünden; über das Präd. hinaus eilt er zum Subj., welches er als Präd. eines neuen Subj. erscheinen lässt." Thus: the worship of the high places proceeding from Jerusalem, and = the sin of Judah! How strange the first must have sounded to his contemporaries we have already remarked. But now the second: Is it possible that Micah has identified the *bamôth* with the sin of his people? That would have been formidable enough even for the Deuteronomist and for the Redactor of the Book of Kings, but for Micah it is inconceivable. He does not name the *bamôth* once. It is true, he expects that Jahwe in the future shall put away from the midst of his people not only the horses and chariots, the fortified cities and the forts, but also the graven images, the *maçgebas* and the *asherahs*.⁴ But who warrants us to seek these things only in the *bamôth*,⁵ and even if we were warranted in this, to take for granted that in their use the prophet saw *the sin* of Judah? He himself forbids us this. The perverting of justice, murder, corruption of judges, priests and prophets—these constitute, in his own words, "the apostasy of Jacob, and the sin of Israel," against which, filled with the spirit of Jahwe, he must prophesy.⁶ No one who interprets him by his own words can permit the *bamôth* in chap. i., 5, to stand. But also the tradition obliges us to take them away. They belong to the official text, established in the second century after Christ. It is true, a few MSS. have

¹ 2 Kgs. xxiii., 8. ² 2 Kgs. xxii. ³ 2 Kgs. xviii., 4; cf. verse 22 and Isa. xxxvi., 7. ⁴ Chap. v., 9-13. ⁵ Compare rather 2 Kgs. xxiii., 4, 6, 7, 11. ⁶ Chap. iii., 8, cf. verses 9-11, and 1 seq.

חטאת for כמות,¹ but this can hardly be any thing else but a correction, either involuntary, or carefully weighed, and at any rate perfectly justifiable. For Symmachus² rendered τὰ ὑψηλά, and two centuries later Jerome *excelsa*.³ Neither is there any indication of a Talmudic variant. But opposed to the manuscript which was followed by the Palestinean scribes, we have the much older one whose reading is given by the LXX. With some unessential variations *all* the Greek Codices read: καὶ τίς ἡ ἀμαρτία οἴκου Ἰούδα; also the descendants of the LXX. as far as we can consult them, defend this reading.⁴ But above all it is confirmed both by the Peshitto, and by the Targum, whose free translation (איפא חטו רבית) (יהודה הלא ירושלם) can be based only on חטאת בית יהודה. The last testimony especially seems to be very noteworthy, and when taken in connection with the other considerations, decisive. He who depends upon *authority* for the establishment of the text, has in truth no choice.

But, it is objected, even in this case the *textus receptus* deserves the preference. For: “*probabilis prae ceteris ea est lectio, quae reliquarum ansam dedisse vel etiam earum elementa in se continere videtur.*”⁵ Undoubtedly, but also this highest canon of textual criticism must be applied with discrimination. The possibility that כמות was changed to חטאת on account of the parallelism I have already granted. But כמות can just as easily have arisen from חטאת. First, an accident may have taken place; בית יהודה may have been changed to כמות,⁶ and when this had taken place חטאת had to yield. But another supposition is more probable, namely, that a congenial spirit to the Deuteronomist added “*bamôth*” in *margin*e to “the sin of the house of Judah,” and a later copyist inserted this, to him, correct explanation, and then omitted בית for the sake of euphony. The one possibility seems to stand opposed to the other; but only as long as it is thought possible, (which we have seen can not be supposed), that Micah wrote כמות יהודה. He who has been convinced by the foregoing that these words do not furnish a correct sense can not regard them as original, and must acknowledge the true reading to have been: ומי חטאת בית יהודה הלא ירושלם

¹ See Kennicott.

² According to a marginal note in the *Versio Syr. Hexapla*; cf. *Origenis Hexapl.*, ed. II., 988. The version of Aquila and of Theodotion have not come down to us, probably because they did not depart from the LXX.

³ Roorda (p. 12), names him among the witnesses for the reading חטאת. Unjustly, as *excelsa* in the reading of all the MSS. of the Vulgate, and is expressly cited by Jerome as the reading of the Hebrew as opposed to that of the LXX. See his *Comment. in Michaeam* (Opp. ed. Vollers. T. VI., 488).

⁴ *Vetus Lat.* (Sabatier. T. II.: 944. *Fragm. Vers. Antehier.* Ed. Ranke, II., p. 18) Arm., Syr., Hexapl., Arab. (cf. Ryssel in Tal. W. V.: 102 seq.).

⁵ Tischendorf in *Proll. ad. Ed. N. T. Tam. majorem*, p. xxxiii, coll. xlii, seq.

⁶ Just as, on the other hand, Vollers (Tal. W. IV: 3) supposes that בית is a mistake for כמות and that ἀμαρτία was subsequently added by the translator, from the preceding. His meritorious work on the *Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner*, would have gained in value, both here and elsewhere, if he had examined the “*plus und minus des Alexandriner*” and his “*Varianten*” at the same time, and so had presented them to the reader.

ON THE TEXT OF PSALMS XIV. AND LIII.

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A study of parallel texts might, I believe, throw much light on questions of Old Testament criticism.

I offer the following suggestions on the origin of the variations in Pss. XIV. and LIII. in the hope that other students may be induced to follow out or to controvert the views here suggested.

I omit the headings and superscriptions as not belonging to the original texts. All other variations as they exist in the Massoretic texts will be seen in the following table :

Ps. XIV.	Ps. LIII.
אמר נבל בלבו.. אין אלהים	
השחיתו התעיבו עליה.. אין עשה-טוב	עוֹל
יהוה משמים השקיף.. על בני אדם	אלהים
לראות היש משכיל.. דרש את אלהים	
הכל סר	כלו סג
יחרו נאלחו	
אין עשה טוב	
אין גם אחר	
הלא ידעו	
כל פעלי און	(omit כל)
אכלי עמי	
אכלו לחם	
יהוה לא קראו	
שם פחרו פחד	
כי אלהים בדר צדיק	לא היה פחד
עצמת חנך [חנף. LXX.] הבישתה עצת עני תבישו	כי אלהים פור
כי יהוה מחסהו	עצמת חנך [חנף. LXX.] הבישתה עצת עני תבישו
	כי אלהים מאַסם

The Psalm begins with an elegiac movement of four pentameters of accented syllables, after which it breaks into a rapid movement expressive of indignation. This movement consists chiefly of triplets and is continued to the end of the Psalm.

The words הלא ידעו were, I believe, originally אֵל לֹא יָדָעוּ, a copyist having been misled by similarity of sound (cf. Ps. LXXXV., 7, where the LXX. evidently read אֵל לֹא for אֵל לֹא). If this emendation be admitted the rhythm is

improved and we observe a remarkable alternation in the Divine Names, אלהים and יהוה occurring alternately *three times* before and three times after the name אל. This adaptation of Divine Names may, of course, be the work of a reviser, but it should be compared with the name יהוה אלהים, אל in Ps. L., 1.

A point, however, of much greater interest is the text which underlies the strange variation in the last three lines of our Psalm.

The common theory of a later Psalmist adapting the words of an existing Psalm to some special needs of his own time cannot possibly account for the variations in Ps. LIII.

It requires, indeed, a large credulity to believe that an inspired writer should have altered בדר into פזר, omitted the word corresponding to צדיק, changed עצת into עצמות bones! עני into חנך, besides other changes of similar sounding letters and all to destroy all possibility of rhythm and, in the end, to get such a sense as this:—“For God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee; thou hast put them to shame, because God hath rejected them.” (RV.) !

A writer would scarcely speak of an enemy whose bones had been scattered as afterwards “put to shame” and “rejected.”

But, apart from this, we have a better text suggested by the LXX., which evidently read חנף hypocrite instead of חנך him that encampeth against thee.

But though the text in Ps. LIII. is in confusion, we cannot, therefore, assume that the parallel passage in Ps. XIV. represents the original text.

כי in one clause doubtless corresponds to כי in the other; so that we are not justified in translating

“for God is in the generation of the righteous”.....

“because the Lord is his refuge.”

Again, who are they that are addressed in the disconnected words “The counsel of the poor ye put to shame”?

There is then a strong *a priori* probability in favor of a common text from which these two texts diverged.

Towards the construction of such a text I offer the following suggestions:

A verb is needed where בדר now stands. The parallel text (LIII.) suggests פזר. Now the Chaldee בדר (Dan. iv., 11) signifies to scatter and is only another form of פזר.

If any one should object that בדר is Chaldee, I suggest בזר which is another synonym of פזר (see Ps. LXXVIII., 31) and which might easily have been mistaken for בדר and then pointed בדר.

Again, instead of צדיק which unfortunately has no equivalent in the parallel text of Ps. LIII., I suggest עריץ, making indeed the same correction which all critical scholars agree to make in the text of Isa. XLIX., 24, where עריץ is undoubtedly a very old mistake for עריץ.

Again, on comparing the parallel texts, עֲצָת is more likely to be a correction than עֲצֻמָּת; consequently I retain the latter, but point it עֲצֻמָּת¹ "weighty counsels."

Of the three readings עֲנִי (Ps. XIV.), חָנֵךְ (Ps. LIII.) and חָנֵף (LXX. on Ps. LIII.) I prefer the latter. So the whole passage, as I propose to restore it, would run,

כִּי הַבּוֹר עָרִיץ
עֲצֻמָּת חָנֵף הִבִּישׁ
כִּי "מֵאֲסֵם

i. e., "For God hath scattered the proud,
The weighty counsel of the hypocrite he hath put to shame,
For the Lord hath despised them."

The historical allusion being probably to the frustration of the counsel of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xv.).

¹ See Isa. xli., 21, "bring hither your weighty counsels עֲצֻמוֹתֵיכֶם saith the king of Jacob."

MORE PHENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN NEW YORK.

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The principal purpose in presenting the following Cesnola inscriptions here is to correct mistakes of various sorts, which appear in former publications. Sometimes fragments of the same object have been separated, as if belonging to different objects, some have been incorrectly read, and one, at least, had not been read or deciphered at all. The labors of other decipherers, however, are not to be undervalued. When Rödiger and Schröder tried their hands at them, the problem was more difficult than after they left them.

Former publications of these inscriptions, to which reference is here made, have been made, in whole or in part, and with various degrees of correctness, by Ceccaldi, in the *Revue Archæologique*, at various times from 1869-1871; by Rödiger, in *Monatsbericht der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, May, 1870, pp. 264-272; by Schröder, in the same for May, 1872, pp. 330-341; By W. Hayes Ward (a few omitted by Schröder) in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, May, 1874, p. lxxxv; by di Cesnola, in *Cyprus*, Appendix, pp. 441, 442, and plates 9-12; and by Renan, in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Tom I., Pars Prima, p. 44 seq., and Tabulæ V,-VIII.

In citing these publications, I give only the author's name and the number by which he designates the object. Ceccaldi I have not cited, as his work was scarcely that of a decipherer.

Two, and perhaps three, inscriptions formerly published I have omitted. One is Schröder's No. 9, or Rödiger's XLIX. d., which I do not remember ever to have seen in the collection, and which does not appear in Cesnola's *Cyprus*. Renan gives it as his own No. 24, from a squeeze by Ceccaldi. It reads.... אשמנל...., being identical in matter with parts of other inscriptions; as of Ward's No. 3, Cesnola's No. 10. The other is Rödiger's "Cit[iensis] XLIX. b, which Renan gives as his own No. 26, copying it from a squeeze taken by Ceccaldi, and remarking its absence from the present collection, as well as from Schröder's and Cesnola's publications. Schröder (pp. 333, 334) had remarked already, in 1872, that he could not find it, though he had searched for it diligently, for days, among all Cesnola's Phœnician objects in *Cyprus*. Schröder shows (it will also be seen below) that in several instances Rödiger published two, or even three, different copies of the same inscription, supposing them to be of different objects. This one reads מלקרת'...., which is to be found on other and actual inscriptions. The third is Rödiger's XLIX. n, which Renan gives as his own No. 38,

from a drawing by Ceccaldi. It reads קלם.... as there given. The numbers here used to designate the inscriptions are those which the objects now bear in the museum.

The following are the inscriptions. They are all from the temple of Eshmun-melqarth, near Citium, and are votive inscriptions. The additions in brackets are only made where the missing matter seemed obvious.

II. (Schröder, 2; Cesnola, 4; Renan, 15.) Marble fragment. Two lines, obscure and fragmentary.

....יתן 'חננב[על]....
....[איש] נ[דר] על בן נא....

".... Hananba'al (i. e., Hannibal) gave.... which he vowed in behalf of [his] s[on]...."

III. a. (Rödiger, xlix. a.; Schröder, 7; Cesnola, 14; Renan, 16, a.)

III. b. (Rödiger xliii. and xlv.; Schröder, 3; Cesnola, 1; Renan, 16, b.)

Parts of the same inscription, though not continuous. On the rim of a marble bowl.

....ן מלכיתן ... (b.) [יתן עבד [א]רני לאשמנמלקורת (a.)

"....so]n of Melekyathon.... my Lord's servant gave to my Lord, to Eshmun-Melq[arth]." The first part doubtless belongs to the date sometime in the reign of Pumiyathon son of Melekyathon, king of Citium and Idalium. In the second part, instead of "my Lord's servant," may be read the proper name 'Ebedadonī. The full legend of this inscription may be gathered from inscription No. I, the longest in the collection, which was published in *HEBRAICA* Vol. I., p. 25.

IV. (Ward, 2; Cesnola, 11; Renan, 19.) On the straight rim of a marble dish. Letters of very fine strokes.

.... מלך כתי ואדיל....
".... king of Citium and Ida[lium]...."

Part of the date of a votive inscription.

V. a. (Rödiger, xliii. and xlvii.; Schröder, 4; Cesnola, 3; Renan, 23.)

V. b. (Cesnola, 12 (?) Renan, 17, a. and b.)

V. c. (Schröder, 20; Cesnola, 13; Renan, 20.)

All are parts of the same inscription, but not continuous, except that V. b. is in two continuous pieces. On rim of marble dish.

... (a.) [בימי]ר ו ו ו לירח... (b.) ו למלך מלכיתן]... (c.) ואדיל מנח.
"[In the day] 19 of the month...[in the year] 4 (?) of king Melek[yathon king of Citium] and Idalium, an off[ering]...."

The number of the year is uncertain, but it was 4 or more.

VI. (Rödiger xlv.; Schröder, 5; Renan, 22.) On rim of heavy marble bowl.

.... יתן מלץ כרסים • ל....
"... the royal interpreter gave to"

VII. (Renan, 39.) Fine letters on edge of marble bowl, much obscured, but perfectly legible.

.... עבר[מלקרת לאדני לאשמנמל]קרת

"....[Ebed-]melqarth to his Lord, to Eshmun[Melqarth]...."

VIII. (Rödiger, xlvi.; Ward, 3; Cesnola, 10; Renan, 23.) On rim of gypsum bowl or vase.

.... לאדני לאשמנמל[קרת]

".... to his Lord, to Eshmunmel[qarth]"

IX. (Rödiger, xlvi.; Schröder, 6; Renan, 18.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... למלך מלכיתן מולך

".... [of ki]ng Melekyathon, ki[ng of Citium and Idalium]"

Part of the date of a votive inscription.

X. (Rödiger, part only, xlix. l.; Schröder, 15 and 21; Ward, 1; Cesnola, 21 and 30; Renan 25.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... לאשמנמל[קרת יברך]

".... to Eshmunmel[qarth]. May he bless."

End of a votive inscription.

XI. (Rödiger, xlix. c.; Schröder, 8, Cesnola, 15; Renan, 27.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... לאשמנמל[קרת יבורך]

".... to Eshmunmel[qarth]. May he ble[ss]."

XII. (Rödiger, xlix. o.; Schröder, 17; Cesnola, 16; Renan, 34.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... נדר צלם

".... vowed an image"

XIII. (Rödiger, xlix. k.; Schröder, 14; Cesnola, 23; Renan, 37.) On convex outer surface of marble bowl. Two lines. (The bowl may have been the same of which No. XII. is a fragment.)

.... א

.... לא

The first line, perhaps "L[ord]," or the beginning of a proper name; the second, "to [his] L[ord]," or "to E[shmunmelqarth]."

XIV. (Rödiger, xlix. i.; Schröder, 13; Cesnola, 20; Renan, 29.) On rim of marble bowl.

.... סמל אז

".... this image (or, fictile object)"

XV. a. (Rödiger, xlix, h. q. f.; Schröder, 11; Cesnola, 19; Renan, 31.)

XV. b. (Rödiger xlix. m.; Schröder, 18; Cesnola, 17; Renan, 35.) Parts of the same inscription, but not continuous. On rim of marble bowl.

... א בן א (b.)... אש יתן.... (a.)

"..... which [Eb'edmelqar]th son of A.... gave....."

XVI. (Renan, 30.) On rim of gypsum vase or bowl.

.... מנח[ת ז אש]

".... an offe]ring this, which"

XVII. (Rödiger, xlix. e.; Schröder, 10; Cesnola, 6; Renan, 32.) On rim of blue marble bowl. The last letter partly broken off, and uncertain.

מקאחת

Uncertain.

XVIII. (Rödiger, xlix. g.; Schröder, 12; Cesnola, 5; Renan, 33.) On rim of marble bowl, and apparently the end of an inscription.

. ח ת

preceded by a letter which may be ר, ד, ב, or ק. Wholly uncertain, but probably of similar purport to XVII.

XIX. (Rödiger, xlix. p.; Schröder, 18; Cesnola, 17; Renan, 28.) On rim of fine marble bowl.

.... לאש[מנמל]קרת

".... to Esh]munmel[qarth"

XX. "Schröder, 19; Cesnola, 22; Renan, 36.) On a splinter from the rim of a fine marble bowl.

.... בן

Probably,

".... son"

NOTES FOR BEGINNERS.

BY WILLIAM R. HARPER.

II.

The Origin of Long Vowels in Hebrew.—In the study of etymological forms, we must start with the fact, *for it is a fact*, that all vowel-sounds of whatever quantity, character, or value, can be traced back to one of the three short vowels ä, ĭ, ŭ. In the case of every long vowel, therefore, we must ask the questions:—(1) From what original (short) vowel has this vowel come? (2) What influence was exerted to make it long? It is taken for granted that a vowel which was originally short would have remained short, had there not been some reason for its change. All long vowels, therefore, may be classified under four heads:—

1. Those which have arisen from the contraction of two distinct vowels; here belong

(a) â (= a+a), as in קָם = qâm = qă-ăm for qă-wăm; so also שָׂת = šâth for šă-yăth.

(b) î (= i+y or y+i), as in יֵשׁ = yî-šan = yĭy-šăn, and יָקִים = yā-qîm = yăq-yĭm for yăq-wĭm.

(c) û (= u+w or w+u) as in הוֹסַר = hû-šār = hŭw-šār, and תָּשׁוּב = tā-šûbh tăs-wûbh.

(d) ê (a+i= or y), as in בֵּין = bēn = băy(ĭ)n; פָּנִי = p'î = p'năy; תִּיטִיב = tē-tĭbh = tăy-tĭbh; עֲשֵׂה = 'sê = 'săy.

(e) ô (= a+u or w), as in יֹם = yôm = yăwm; הוֹלִיד = hô-lĭdh (= hăw-lĭdh).

In an exhaustive treatment there must also be included under this class the comparatively rare 'ֵ (e) which, like 'ֵ, everywhere comes from a contraction of ay.*

As the result of *contraction*, therefore, arise a very large number of the Hebrew long vowels. This is a principle common to all languages.

2. A second class includes those which have become long, as being characteristic of a nominal form; here belong

(a) â (from an original ä) as in גָּנַב = gännâbh, כָּתַב = k'thâbh.

(b) î (from an original ĭ) as in יָמִין = yā-mîn = yă-mĭn; חָסִיד = hā-šĭdh = ħă-šĭdh.

(c) û (from an original ŭ) as in קָטוּל = qā-tûl = qă-tŭl; כָּרוּב = k'rûbh = kŭ-rŭbh, or kĭ-rŭbh.

* This vowel, indicated for the sake of distinction, by an italicized e, is found (a) in הוֹלִיד Imperfects and Imperatives before the fem. plur. term. הֵן, and after the analogy of these forms, also as the separating vowel in similar יוֹעֵץ and עוֹעֵץ forms; (b) in forms of plural nouns before the suffixes י and יָ.

(d) ô (obscured from â, which is from an original ă) as in קָטַל (קטל) = qā-tôl = qā-tāl = qā-tāl; קָרוֹשׁ = qā-dhōš = qā-dhāš = qā-dhāš; קוּטַל (קטל) = qô-tēl = qā-tīl = qā-tīl.

It will be worth our while here to note carefully the origin of the forms of the Qāl Inf. abs. and Part. act., viz., קָטַל, קָטַל, or, as they are often, but improperly, written, קוּטַל, קוּטַל.

The original stem-form, after the loss of the final ă, is qā-tāl; to get a *noun-form*, which shall serve as an infinitive, the ultimate ă is lengthened *characteristically* to â. Subsequently, because of certain euphonic laws in force every where in Hebrew, the penultimate ă is heightened to ā, the â is obscured to ô. Compare, now, the corresponding forms in Arabic and Assyrian qātāl and qā-tāl(u), which are, indeed, identical with the ground-form of קָטַל.

Starting again with the stem qā-tāl, by a *characteristic* lengthening of the penultimate ă, there was obtained a second nominal form qā-tāl, which served as a participle. Here again by the working of the laws of heightening and obscuration qā-tāl becomes (through qā-tīl) qô-tēl. With the intermediate form qā-tīl compare the Arabic and Assyrian participles, which have precisely this form.

It is to be remembered that vowels which became long as being *characteristic* of a nominal form belong to the primitive Semitic; that is to say, these vowels arose before the Arabic, Assyrian and other Semitic languages had become separate tongues. We do not mean to say that every instance of each of these formations was in existence before these languages had become separate; but that the use of a long (unchangeable) vowel to mark a nominal form originated in the so-called primitive Semitic tongue, and that all instances of this in these languages have arisen in accordance with this original usage. A distinction something like this is seen in דָּבַר the verb and דְּבַר the noun; in נָקַטַל the verb and נְקָטַל the noun (participle).

By the principle of *lengthening* (which is the change of ă to â, ĩ to î, ŭ to û, not that of ă to ā, ĩ to ē, ŭ to ō) we may therefore explain a very large number of long vowels in Hebrew, the lengthening, in these cases, being understood to *characterize* the nominal form.

3. The third class includes those which have been *lengthened* (not *heightened*) in compensation. The cases are few and doubtful. As examples may be cited קִטַּר for קָטַר, קִמּוּשׁ for קָמוּשׁ. Under ordinary circumstances a vowel is *heightened* in compensation for the loss of a consonant, but in a few cases real lengthening takes place. Forms also like נִקְוָם, which = năqām = năq-wām = nă-qām, contain a vowel lengthened in compensation for the loss of ך. This class, however, needs no further notice.

4. The fourth class includes those vowels which have become long through the operation of that great euphonic law, the law of the tone; here belong

- (a) *ā* (always from an original *ǎ* and standing directly before or under the tone*) as in דָּבָר from dā-bhār; אֲכָלָה from 'ā-khāl-tā; יִבְשָׁה from yāb-bā-šāth; מָקוֹם from māq-wām.
- (b) *ē* (from *ī*, and standing directly before or under the tone), as in בֵּן from bīn (for בְּנִי); לֶבֶב from lī-bhābh; זֶקֶן from zā-qīn; סֵפֶר from šīphr; יֵשֶׁב from yī-šībh (for yīw-šībh).
- (c) *ō* (from *ū*, and standing directly before or under the tone) as in קֹטֵל from q'ūl; כֹּל from kūll; גֹּרֶשׁ from gūr-rāš; חֹשֶׁךְ from hūšk.
- (d) *é* (always from an original *ǎ*, and standing directly before or under the tone†) as in אָחָד from 'ā-hādh; עָרַב from 'ārḇ; נֶעְשָׂה from nā-'sāy; תִּקְרָאנָה from tīq-rā-nā.

The vowels of this class have arisen by heightening, not lengthening. The term *heightening* is a technical one; the change is an artificial increment, or strengthening, brought about by the introduction of a foreign element, viz., an *α*-sound (cf. the *guna* in Sanskrit). The original vowel in these cases is therefore increased, *heightened* (e. g., *ī* to *ē*, *ū* to *ō*), and not merely prolonged, *lengthened* (e. g., *ī* to *î*, *ū* to *û*). These vowels may be described more distinctly as follows:—

(1) They are *tone-long*; i. e., their length is due to the tone or accent of the word. They are long because of their proximity to this tone.

(2) They are *artificially* long; i. e., they are not long by nature, or by origin. They *were* short, and would now be short but for the tone. Contracted long vowels and characteristically long vowels are so *by nature*, tone-long vowels are so *by position*.

(3) They are *euphonically* long; i. e., they are long merely for the sake of euphony. The heightened form has no 'meaning. It sounds better, and hence it is preferred.

(4) They are *changeable*; i. e. if the tone, to which they are indebted for their very existence, should be moved, they no longer have any reason for existence and so must suffer change.

(5) They are, for the most part, *tonic* and *pretonic*; i. e., they must stand with the tone or before it. The most important euphonic law of the Hebrew language, connected with this, may be stated thus: A short vowel standing directly‡ before or under the tone must be heightened.

It is to be noted in connection with this very brief and general statement of the law, (a) that heightened vowels occur sometimes in the antepretone, and likewise

* This *ā* stands rarely two syllables before the tone, as in הָאָרֶם, where, however, it is protected by Methegh; and, sometimes, in the post-tone syllable, as in קֹטֵלֶת.

† As in the case of tone-long *a*, this vowel occurs rarely two syllables before the tone, as in הָעֵפֶר, where, also like *a* it is maintained by means of Methegh.

‡ That is, without an intervening consonant.

in the post-tone syllable; and (b) that, within certain rigid limitations a short vowel is allowed to stand in a tone-syllable. All cases, however, of either of these seeming variations from the general law are capable of satisfactory explanation.

By the principle of heightening, therefore, we may explain a large number of long vowels; and this principle, like that of contraction and lengthening, is one common to all languages.

Repetition of Words.—We frequently find a word repeated in Hebrew, e. g.:

- 1) Gen. XVII., 2 **בְּמֵאדָּר מְאֹד** *in high degree, high degree*;
1 Sam. II., 3 **גִּבְהָהּ גִּבְהָהּ** *proudly, proudly*.
- 2) Gen. VII., 2 **שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה** *seven by seven*;
Exod. XVII., 16 **מִדֹּר דֹּר** *from generation to generation*.
- 3) Gen. XIV., 10 **בְּאַרְתַּ בְּאַרְתַּ** *many wells*;
2 Kgs. III., 16 **גְּבִים גְּבִים** *many ditches*.
- 4) Gen. XV., 18 **הַנָּהָר הַגָּדֹל הַזֶּה הַנָּהָר** *the great river, the river Euphrates*.

From the study of these cases, it will be noted that different ideas are conveyed by the repetition. In the first cases cited (cf. also Gen. x., 21; XXII., 20) the idea is that of *emphasis* or *intensity*. In the second class (cf. also Gen. XXXII., 17; Exod. XVI., 5; XXIII., 30; XXV., 35; XXXVI., 4), there is indicated the idea of *distribution, entirety*. In the third class the idea indicated is that of *multitude*. The fourth class (cf. also Gen. XXV., 30; XXXV., 14) is quite different from the preceding classes. Here the noun is repeated in order to make it possible for a new idea to be added without rendering the construction a faulty one.

A Noun in the Construct Relation with a Clause.—This construction may at first trouble the beginner. Note the following examples:

Exod. VI., 28 **בְּיוֹם דִּבְרַיְהוָה** *On the day (that) Jehovah spake*.

1 Sam. XXV., 15 **יְמֵי הַהֹלְכֵנוּ אִתָּם** *the days we walked with them*.

Ps. LVI., 4 **יִוֵּם אִירָא** *the day I fear*.

Cf. also Gen. XXXIX., 20; XL., 3; Exod. IV., 13; 1 Sam. III., 13; 1 Kgs. XXI., 19.

It will be seen (a) that the clause is a relative one, though the relative may be omitted; (b) the noun which stands thus is one expressing a general idea of *place, time, or manner*.

✧CONTRIBUTED✧NOTES.✧

Some Hebrew Lines.—It was my good fortune to take a volume in my hands in which I found the lines I give below. They are, I think, very beautiful, and may interest you as well as the readers of *HEBRAICA*.

לֹא דְבַרִּי מְלִיצָה
לֹא שִׁירָה כְּתַבְתִּי;
אֶךְ יִשְׁנָתִי וְאַקִּיצָה
וּמַחְלֹמִי נִעְצַבְתִּי
וּבְרוּחִי נִרְכַּבְתִּי
וְאַאֲנַח אֲנַחָה
וְאַשִׁיחֶנָּה בְּקִנְטָרִים
וְיִרְנַח לִי רוּחָהּ:

Read and accentuated as it would be by the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe, the meter reminds one of the lesser Sapphic, and indeed of the Sapphic stanza as employed by Horace.

Excepting the last word in the seventh line, the language is classical. I append a paraphrase:—

No word of wisdom,
No song have I written.
But I have slept, and then awoke,
And am by my dream, with dim dread possessed;
And in spirit am I broken,
And with sorrow sorely pressed.
Then I sighed it to this leaflet,
And relief did then release me.

B. BERENSON.

Harvard College, Dec. 22, 1885.

The Memorial Volume of Dr. Leemans.—A unique and valuable collection of articles on biblical, Assyriological and other antiquarian topics has lately made its appearance in Europe, from which I have selected one or two for translation for *HEBRAICA*. It seemed to be desirable to publish an English translation of them not only because the articles which I have translated are in the Hollandish language, understood by only a few of our Semitic scholars in America, but also because there are only a very few copies of the collection in the country. The occasion of publishing the collection was the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the appointment of Dr. C. Leemans as Director of the Archæological Museum of Leyden, Holland. A circular was sent to the various Oriental and other scholars of Europe asking for a short contribution on some topic on which they had made recent original investigations. The articles thus obtained were collected in one volume, only a limited number of which was printed, and dedicated and formally presented to Dr. Leemans on December 3, 1885.

ABEL H. HINZINGA.

The Emendation of 1 Sam. XVI., 20.—You will permit a reader of your valuable quarterly, who, while not disputing for a moment the scholarship of Dr. John P. Peters, of Philadelphia, must positively take exception to some of his assumptions, and notably to one advanced in the number of *HEBRAICA* for April, 1886. In a note under the name "Hebrew use of Numbers," Dr. Peters directs attention to the biblical use of certain numbers for certain words; as, for instance, "five" for "few," etc. But his suggestion concerning 1 Sam. XVI., 20, where for חמור he would substitute חמישה would seem to lack any authority. For, while the Hebrew construction of the verse which begins

..... יקח ישי חמור לחם

is certainly very peculiar, if not incorrect, I can perceive no warrant for the change, other than a mere conjecture; nor do the commentators consulted on this point appear to favor any such substitution.

I know full well that Dr. Peters is not one of those who are given to flimsy, ridiculous, and even destructive ideas about the sacred text, so common now-a-days. It is, therefore, in a spirit actuated by high regard for his abilities that I humbly disagree with him on the matter in question.

Philadelphia, Pa., May 7, 1886.

HENRY S. MORAIS.

An Assyrian Precative in Dan. II., 20.—In reading my Hebrew Bible yesterday, for a wonder I found an error of the press. A. Hahn's 8vo edition, Lipsiae, 1833, in Dan. II., 4, has לַעֲלֵמִין לַעֲלֵטִין. I mention it that others may not be puzzled by it as I was.

Then in verse 20 of the same chapter I was delighted to find an Assyrian—or if you prefer it, a Babylonian—Precative mood, which is formed by prefixing lu or li to any one of the forms of the Aorist. (Prof. A. H. Sayce's *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 66.) The form in Dan. II., 20 is לִחְיֶה.

Prof. Gesenius says of it in his *Lexicon* (Boston, 1844, p. 252, col. 2 Note.) "In the formation of the future of this verb there occurs this singularity, that in the third person singular and plural is found the prefix ל where we should expect the preformative י; and this with the regular and usual signification of the future or subjunctive." Then he refers to this passage among others and adds "forms of the same kind are found in the Targums. From all this it appears that the forms are not Infinitives, as is sometimes supposed, but that in such examples either the ל is put for the nun of the Syrians, or else these forms have arisen out of the Hebrew usage which began to put לִקְטֹל instead of יִקְטֹל."

The learned professor, had he lived to see the light shed on the Hebrew by the cuneiform inscriptions, would have found a far better and perfectly simple explanation of the form which perplexed him. Prof. A. H. Sayce says in his "Lectures on the Assyrian language and syllabary," p. 91, "The precative is generally used only in the third person; occasionally, however, it is found in the first and once or twice in the second." The third person singular precative of sakanu is liiskun, and here we have lehevae with precisely the precative meaning. "Let the name of God be blessed from eternity to eternity," or literally, "Let it be that the name of God be blessed," etc.

It is a beautiful illustration of the help afforded by the Assyrian to the right understanding of the Hebrew scriptures.

THOMAS LAURIE.

Providence, Dec. 14, 1885.

→EDITORIAL: NOTES.←

Hebrew in College.—For several years there has been a steadily increasing demand for Hebrew instruction in the College. There has never existed a really good reason why such instruction should not be offered. Those especially interested have been the professors of Hebrew and the Old Testament in the theological seminaries. For the sake of the strictly biblical work, which is crowded out by the necessity of giving time to the study of the language, for the sake of the linguistic study itself, which has suffered greatly from the lack of time given it and from the lack of interest which necessarily accompanies the unfavorable circumstances under which it has been pursued, a strong plea has been made for the introduction of Hebrew into the College curriculum as an elective. The results of the agitation made in this line already begin to show themselves. Within five years, it may safely be predicted, every first-rank institution in the land will have made provision for the study of Hebrew. With such instruction already offered in Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Princeton and others, Brown, Dartmouth, Williams, Rochester, Ann Arbor and the colleges of equal rank cannot afford much longer to delay making similar provision.

The Summer Schools of Hebrew.—At this date, July 20th, the Philadelphia School of Hebrew is past, the Chicago School is approaching its close, and the New England School is just opening. Thus far, the Schools of 1886 are in very many respects ahead of those of 1885.

It was supposed by many, and the supposition was a well-grounded one, that after one or two years the interest in such Schools would die out. The facts in the case seem to indicate the very opposite. Satisfactory as was the first session of the Philadelphia School, the second session, just closed, in point of numbers, interest and results accomplished, far exceeded it. Of the six sessions of the Chicago School, the one now in session is, by all, conceded to be the most encouraging. It is too early to speak definitely concerning the New England School. Its outlook, however, as well as that of the two remaining Schools (Chautauqua and Southern) is much better than last year.

It is sometimes suggested that there are too many Schools; that it would be better to consolidate them. There would be some advantages, it must be confessed, in such a plan. But when we consider that only by means of a School in a given section of the country, can that section be interested in this particular work, that not the least among the results accomplished by the Schools is the bringing together of the teachers, and the mutual profit which they thereby obtain, that in this work, everything else being equal, the greatest good will be accomplished by reaching the largest possible number of students, it may be doubted whether the consolidation of the Schools would not practically defeat the very ends sought for in the work of the Institute of Hebrew.

There is a measure of disappointment when the attendance in any school falls below fifty. It should be remembered, however, that with the establish-

ment of each new school, the territory of each school already established is narrowed. Five schools with an attendance of fifty each will accomplish far more than one with an attendance of one hundred. Nor is the success of the work to be measured by the results directly manifesting themselves. A public sentiment is being created in the several sections in which schools are established, which in time will do much toward bringing about the ends directly sought in the work of these schools. Were it not for the extreme difficulty of obtaining means with which to carry on the work, it is certain that still other schools might be inaugurated with great advantage.

And further, are there not many institutions in the country fully equipped with instructors, the number of whose students does not reach fifty? There is no reason why we should not have a hundred or more students in each of our Summer Schools; but so long as fifty can be brought together for work in a line which has hitherto been so neglected, there is real ground for encouragement. What we need is, not a less number, but a greater number of schools, and the indications are that the number will increase.

Professors of Hebrew.—In the several numbers of the present volume of *HEBRAICA*, there have been published the names of the various professors of Hebrew (and kindred subjects) in this country, in Britain and on the continent. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that in these lists no mistakes have been made and no names omitted. They furnish, however, a comparatively accurate idea of the number of men engaged in this department of study. A careful study of these lists is not without profit. Many of the names have become very familiar to all Bible-students. Others, now unknown to many, will become famous in the years to come. From one stand-point, we may be surprised that so many men are engaged in a department which to the world seems narrow and unproductive. But when we compare the number with the vastly greater number at work in nearly every other line of scientific and theological study, and when we consider the magnitude of the department and the extreme practical importance of many of the questions which must be settled in it, we must at once feel that there is room for many more workers.

Those engaged in Semitic work should find in the examination of these lists much encouragement. With so large a number of men at work in a given line, surely valuable results may be expected.

Assyrian Manual.—When this number of *HEBRAICA* reaches its readers, the *Assyrian Manual* by Prof. D. G. Lyon, published by the American Publication Society of Hebrew, will be ready for delivery to purchasers. The distinguishing feature of this work is that it makes transliterated Assyrian inscriptions the basis on which the beginner is to build. While making it possible, by reading largely in transliterated texts, to gain a good knowledge of Assyrian grammar and the lexicon, without the task of memorizing the cuneiform signs, the *Assyrian Manual* also supplies ample means for acquiring the signs and for practice in reading texts in the original. The book will prove a welcome aid to those Hebrew students who for linguistic or theological reasons desire to make the acquaintance of a great literature cotemporaneous with the Jewish, and presenting many of the most interesting points of contact with the Old Testament.

→BOOK NOTICES←

A REVIEW OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF EZECHIEL.*

This book breaks new ground. It flows in rich land, but sometimes throws up an unprofitable subsoil over the productive upper layers. It is the first systematic attempt made on the basis of the best critical material available, and with a learned acumen found only in few gifted scholars, to restore the Hebrew text of Ezechiel as far as possible to its original form. It is a critical text of the prophet, the author attempting, as he himself repeatedly states, to edit this text in the same manner and method in which thorough classical scholars edit Latin and Greek authors. It is thus an attempt to solve the most difficult problem of lower or textual criticism in the case of one of the greater prophets, and thus to apply to practice what the theoretical discussions of European and American scholars, especially since the publication of the revised translation of the Old Testament, have proved a *pium desiderium*. What New Testament scholars have in the last century, and especially in the last three decades, done for the text of the New Testament, that now is to be attempted in the case of the Old also, and Cornill is the first to step forward with the results of his studies.

Starting out from the hypothesis of Lagarde, maintained with a great deal of learning in his "Remarks on the Greek Translation of Proverbs" in 1863, "that our Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament are based upon a single copy, the corrections of whose errors in writing they also copy as corrections, and whose accidental incompleteness they have adopted," Cornill expects little or no help for the restoration of the primitive from the Hebrew MSS., especially as this Hebrew prototype manuscript dates back probably only to the times of Hadrian, all the more importance must therefore be attached to the earlier and other critical helps; in the first place, to the Septuagint, which represents a text three hundred and fifty years earlier than the Massoretic archetype, and in the second place, to the Targums, the Peshitto and the Vulgate. As the leading stress is laid upon the Septuagint, and the value of this aid can be estimated and utilized only when the acknowledged corrupt form of the Greek translation is sifted, weighed and corrected, the greater portion of the Prolegomena of 175 pages is devoted to the discussion of the Septuagint as a critical help to restore the original text of Ezechiel. This discussion covers pages 13-109, and it must be pronounced probably the fullest and most satisfactory, though rather sanguine, treatment of the troublesome problem. The whole Prolegomena are indeed a model of industry and of patient and painstaking detailed investigation. In studying them we were impressed by the fact that Cornill has done nearly all of this work with literary aids which are also at the disposal of scholars on this side of the Atlantic. With the exception of the treatment of the Ethiopic translation made from the Septua-

* DAS BUCH DES PROPHETEN EZECHIEL, herausgegeben von Lic., Dr. Carl Heinrich Cornill, A. O. Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich. 8vo, pp. xii, 515.

gint, we do not think that any portion of his argumentation is based upon manuscript authority. In America the problem of textual criticism and the correction of the Massoretic text has been discussed in its whole length and breadth. The manner of Cornill's research shows that American scholars have also tools at hand with which to engage in similar work.

On the basis of these critical aids Cornill has then given us what in his judgment is a text as near as possible to the original as this came from the hands of the prophet himself. The text of Ezechiel has always been acknowledged to be of a troublesome character, and Cornill has made wide use of his critical pruning-knife. His changes and departures from the Massoretic text are exceedingly many, and but comparatively few verses have been left in the traditional shape. Thus, e. g., in chapter I. only verses 19 and 28 are left unchanged; in chapter II., only verses 1 and 7; in chapter IV., only verses 1, 2, 15, 16, 17; in chapter V., only verses 1, 3, 10; in chapter XIX., only verses 3, 4, 6; in chapter XXV., only verses 1, 2, 4, 5, 11. Sometimes a chapter undergoes fewer alterations, as, e. g., chapter III., where verses 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 17, 22, 23, 24 and 26 are left intact. We think, though, that on the average at least from twenty to twenty-five changes are made in every chapter, so that the forty-seven chapters of Ezechiel will show up more than one thousand departures from the received text. Many of the changes are quite radical, e. g., chapter I., 1 is considered a gloss, as are also some verses in nearly every chapter, e. g., VIII., 8; X., 1, 5, 8-18 (entire); XI., 11, 12; XII., 10 (almost the entire verse); XVI., 21, 27, 42; XX., 29; XXII., 8; XXIII., 26; XXXII., 25; XL., 12, 40, 41, and others. These are all inclosed in brackets and at once recognized. It must be remembered that these are rejected on subjective grounds alone, and against the unanimous voice of the critical apparatus. Where omissions are made on the basis of this or that ancient authority, or changes are made which are sanctioned by even one of these authorities, no special note is made of it in the text, and the difference in the reading can be learned only by a comparison of the traditional text with the proposed revision. Occasionally an entirely new arrangement of the verses or sections of verses is made. Thus, e. g., in chapter VII., the following is the order: 1, 2, 6 (part), 7 (part), 8, 9, 5, 6 (part), 10, 7 (part), 11, 12, etc.; in chapter XLI. the following order is found: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (part), 6 (part), 5 (part), 7 (part), 6 (part), 7 (part), 9, 11, 8, 10, 12 (part), 15, 12 (part), 13, etc.

As to the merits of the result it may be difficult to judge. We certainly have a smoother and an easier text than the traditional; but have we one that is more historical and correct? In many respects most assuredly, but just so assuredly not in all. Cornill presupposes that Ezechiel of a necessity wrote a model and classical Hebrew; and on the score of style, and it seems to us on the basis of modern and not ancient rhetoric, he allows himself to make alterations, and especially omissions, that do not seem warranted by a cautious criticism. We were especially astonished at the number of omissions made from the Massoretic text; and in the first six chapters, which we examined especially with a view to this feature, we are inclined to think that Cornill reduces the bulk of the Ezechiel text by one-twelfth or one-fifteenth. The additions made to the text, marked by asterisks, are comparatively rare, and never embrace more than one or two words. The result is that Cornill's text is considerably shorter than the traditional; and with our knowledge of the origin and history of the Massoretic text we do not think this entirely justified. We are convinced that Cornill has

omitted matter on the ground of style and for the purpose of securing clearness, which the great prophet himself penned. This is but one ground on which we object to the multitude of changes made. Other reasons could also be urged. But notwithstanding this we cordially welcome this work. Its purpose is excellent and its method good, only it seems to us not cautious and careful enough. But as the critical apparatus is complete, the reader has the means at hand to control the alterations and correct wherever necessary. We are glad to hear that the author proposes to publish the text of Isaiah and Jeremiah in a similar manner.

GEORGE H. SCHODDE.

A NEW COMMENTARY UPON THE BOOK OF JOB.*

The Book of Job, which in regard to its linguistical structure as well as in regard to its contents is one of the most difficult in the whole Hebrew Bible, has found a new and, let us say it right here in the beginning, a fully competent commentator in the erudite Dr. Szold, who is a rabbi in one of the Jewish congregations of Baltimore. Our only desire, here, is to call the attention of Bible students to this excellent commentary. In his introduction the author treats upon many interesting points. He discusses the questions, What is the real purport of the Book of Job? Is it based upon real historical facts, or is it only a didactic poem, the fundamental story of which is but a parable? To what class of literature is the book to be assigned? At what time was it written? Is it originally the production of a Hebrew writer, or is it a translation from the work of an elder non-Hebrew author? and so forth. As to the purport of the book, Dr. Szold comes to the conclusion that it is not a so-called Theodicy, as has been and still is commonly supposed; that it is not a vindication of Divine Providence; not an attempt to solve the ancient riddle, Why is the way of the wicked happy, and *vice versa*? Its purpose, according to Szold, is rather to demonstrate that and how a truly God-fearing man remains steadfast and firm in his piety amidst all tribulations. A metaphysical problem is not to be solved by the Book of Job, but its aim and intent are to give an important moral lesson. The running commentary to the book itself is very lucid and instructive, and many difficult and dark passages are made clear by it. That here and there explanations should have been given, to which we might not so readily consent, is certainly to be expected. But at any rate, Szold's exegetical labors command fullest consideration. With the previous exegetical literature on Job the author is familiar. He is not polemical, yet it soon becomes evident that he has studied the commentaries of Delitzsch, Ewald, Hitzig, Schlottmann, Dillmann, etc., as well as those of the elder and later Jewish commentators, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, the Qimhides, Moses ben Nahman, Luzzatto, Malbim, and others.

Szold's commentary is written from beginning to end in neo-hebraic language. But the language is flowing and easy. Bible-students who have had not much practice in reading Hebrew post-biblical or neo-hebraic books, can be assured that they will find the study of Szold's commentary easy enough and at the same time highly profitable, after having devoted some hours to the same. The excellent typographical execution of the book deserves our special appreciation.

B. FELSENTHAL.

* THE BOOK OF JOB WITH A NEW COMMENTARY. By Benjamin Szold. Baltimore: H. F. Siemers, 1896. Pages xxiv and 498.

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